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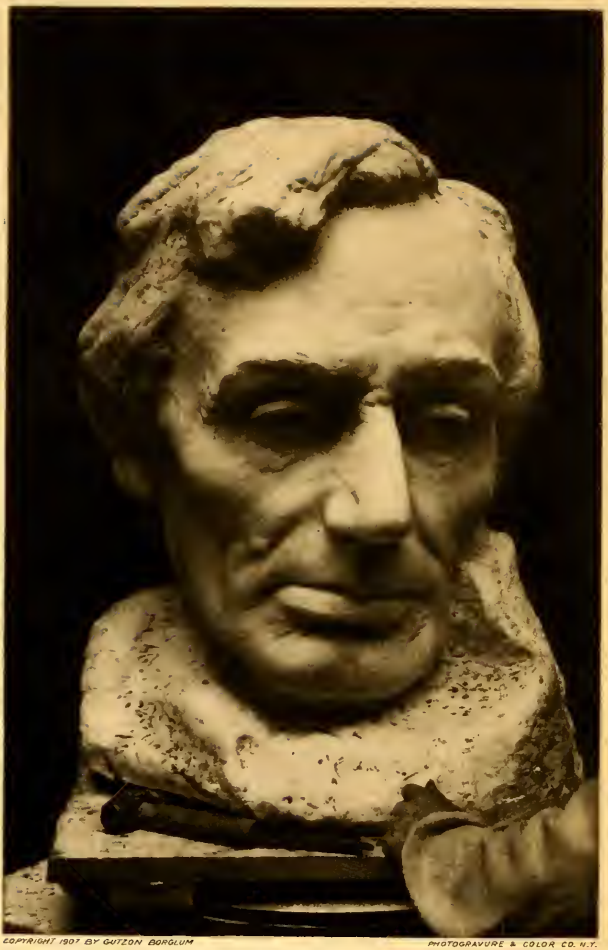
Life and Works of Abraham Lincoln

Centenary Edition

Edited by Marion Mills Miller, Litt. D.
(Princeton)

In Nine Volumes: Volume VII



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HEAD OF LINCOLN
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LETTERS *and* TELEGRAMS

· · *Adams to Garrison* · ·

Including
Messages to Congress, Military
Orders, Memoranda, etc.,
Relating to Individual
Persons

By ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Lincoln Centenary Association
New York

CENTENARY
EDITION DE LUXE

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CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE ix

INTRODUCTION:

Lincoln, the Man of the People. By Edwin Markham xi

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS:

Adams, Charles Francis, page 1. Adams, Green, 10. Adams, James, 10. Agriculture, Commissioner of, 20. Addison, John, 22. Allen, Robert, 22. Anderson, Robert, 23. Anderson, W. G., 25. Andrews, I. D., 26. Andrews, —, 26. Arnold, I. N., 27. Asbury, Henry, 28. Ashmun, George, 29. Astor, J. J., and Others, 30.

Baldwin, D. S. D., 30. Bancroft, George, 31. Banks, Nathaniel P., 32. Barney, Hiram, 44. Bates, Edward, 44. Bayles, Jesse, 46. Bedell, Miss Grace, 47. Beecher, Henry Ward, 47. Belmont, August, 48. Bennett John, 49. Bennett, James Gordon, 52. Berdan, James, 52. Birchard, M., and Others, 53. Bixby, Mrs., 61. Blair, Frank P., Jr., 61. Blair, Frank P., Sr., 62. Blair, Montgomery, 64. Bliss, William S., 66. Blow, H. T., and Others, 67. Blunt, J. G., 67. Boal, Robert, 69. Boker, G. H., 70. Boyle, J. T., 71. Bouligny, J. E., 72. Bradford, A. W., 73. Bramlette, Thomas E., 75. Brayman, M., 77. Briggs, James A., 77. Broadhead, J. O., 77. Brockman, J. M., 78. Brown, B. Gratz, 78. Brown, J. N., 78. Browning, O. H., 80. Browning, Mrs. O. H., 84. Bryant, J. H., 86. Bryant, William Cullen, 87. Buckner, Simon B., 90. Buell, Don Carlos, 90. Bullitt, Cuthbert, 96. Burbridge, S. G., 99. Burnside, Am-

brose E., 101. Butler, Benjamin F., 110. Butterfield, Daniel, 121.

Cabinet, The, 122. Cameron, Simon, 123. Campbell, A., 132. Campbell, J. A., 133. Campbell, William B., and Others, 134. Canby, E. R. S., 136. Canisius, Theodore, 140. Capen, F. L., 141. Carney, Thomas, 142. Chandler, Zachariah, 144. Chase, Salmon P., 144. Cheney, T. A., 164. Chew, Henry, 165. Chew, R. S., 165. Chicago *Journal*, Editor of the, 166. Choate, Joseph H., 168. Chrisman, John, 169. Clay, Cassius M., 169. Clay, Clement C., 171. Clay, John M., 172. Clay, Thomas H., 172. Clayton, John M., 173. Codding, I., 174. Colfax, Schuyler, 175. Collamer, Jacob, 177. Conkling, F. A., 179. Conkling, James C., 179. Cook, B. C., 186. Corning, Erastus, 187. Cottman, Thomas, 200. Craig, Mr. and Mrs., 202. Crawford, S. W., 202. Creswell, J. A. J., 202. Crosby and Nichols, 204. Crisfield, J. W., 205. Crittenden, J. J., 205. Cunningham, J. O, 207. Curtin, Andrew G., 208. Curtis, S. R., 213. Cushing, William B., 221.

Dana, N. J. T., 222. Davis, Henry Winter, 223. Davis, John W., 224. Delahay, M. W., 225. Dennison, William, 226. Derrickson, Captain, 227. Dingman, A., 228. Dix, John A., 228. Dixon, James, 232. Dodge, G. M., 233. Dodge, William E., Jr., 234. Douglas, Mrs. Stephen A., 235. Drake, Charles D., 236. Dubois, Jesse K., 243. Du Pont, Samuel F., 245. Durley, William, 247.

East, E. H., 249. Eckert, T. T., 250. Ellsworth, Mr. and Mrs., 251. Embree, E., 252. Evans, E. P., 253. Everett, Edward, 253. Ewing, Thomas H., 255.

Fair, Sailors', at Boston, 259. Fair, Sanitary, at Chicago, 260. Farragut, David G., 260. Fell, Jesse W., 261. Ferguson, R. L., 264. Ficklin, O. B., 264. Field, Christopher F., 265. Filley, O. D., 266. Fishback, W. M., 268. Fisher, C. H., 269. Fisher, G. P., 269. Fisk, Clinton B., 271. Fithian, William, 271. Flanders, B. F., 272. Fleming, J. M., 272. Fletcher,

Thomas C., 274. Foote, Andrew H., 275. Forney, John W., 276. Foster, J. G., 276. Fox, Gustavus V., 277. Franklin, W. B., 279. Frazer, W. E., 280. Frémont, John C., 280. Frémont, Mrs. John C., 295. French, B. B., 295. Fry, John B., 296.

Galloway, Samuel, 297. Gamble, Hamilton R., 302. Gardner, Prof., 306. Garrison, William Lloyd, 307.

PREFACE

It has been difficult, indeed, for the editor of this work to abridge the great volume of the letters and telegrams of Abraham Lincoln. Almost every one of Lincoln's earlier letters throws valuable light on his personality, and from the time of his election to the Presidency onward, there are but few communications of his which do not bear an intimate relation to his official acts and utterances, as well as to the stirring events of the times. For example, in view of the estrangement which developed between Mr. Lincoln and Secretary Chase, every recommendation by the President of an office-seeker, no matter how obscure he might be, becomes an important "exhibit," testifying to the political pressure under which Mr. Lincoln was placed, and the courteous consideration with which he transmitted it to his equally harassed and more irritable minister. And the many telegrams sent to General McClellan by his Commander-in-Chief, repeating in the same words a request for news of the army's movement (*sic*) prove as could no statement of historian or biographer how the President's anxiety was straining to the breaking point his forbearance of his principal general's inactivity.

These three volumes contain, besides correspondence proper, those military orders and those messages to Congress which relate to specific

persons. All these writings are arranged in the alphabetical order of surnames of addresses in the case of letters and telegrams, and of persons referred to in the case of orders and messages. Under each entry the letters, etc., appear in chronological order. By docketing the correspondence in this fashion the relation of each letter to the general subject under discussion is clearly shown, and editorial annotation is thereby rendered superfluous. The student possessed of synthetic imagination will "read between the lines" of this correspondence, and find it the most enjoyable part of the book. That he might not be frightened away, however, from such a fascinating task by the first sight of the pages, cross-references, giving the forbidding appearance of an index, have been sparingly employed. It is assumed that the reader has common sense and a general knowledge of American history,—will, for instance, look unbidden under "HALLECK, HENRY W., "STANTON, EDWIN M.," etc., for light upon President Lincoln's relations with General McClellan, which is additional to that thrown by the correspondence docketed under "MCCLELLAN, GEORGE B."

INTRODUCTION

Lincoln, the Man of the People.*

By Edwin Markham.

When the Norn Mother saw the Whirlwind Hour
Greatening and darkening as it hurried on,
She left the Heaven of Heroes and came down
To make a man to meet the mighty need.
She took the tried clay of the common road—
Clay warm yet with the genial heat of earth,
Dashed through it all a strain of prophecy,
Tempered the heap with touch of mortal tears;
Then mixed a laughter with the serious stuff.

The color of the ground was in him, the red earth,
The tang and odor of the primal things—
The rectitude and patience of the rocks;
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn;
The courage of the bird that dares the sea;
The justice of the rain that loves all leaves;
The pity of the snow that hides all scars;
The loving kindness of the wayside well;

*From "Lincoln and Other Poems," published by McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. This poem revised and copyrighted, 1906, by Edwin Markham. It is here published by special permission of the author.

The tolerance and equity of light
That gives as freely to the shrinking weed
As to the great oak flaring to the wind—
To the grave's low hill as to the Matterhorn
That shoulders out the sky.

And so he came.
From prairie cabin up to Capitol,
One fair ideal led our chieftain on.
Forevermore he burned to do his deed
With the fine stroke and gesture of a king.
He built the rail pile as he built the State,
Pouring his splendid strength through every blow,
The conscience of him testing every stroke,
To make his deed the measure of a man.

So came the Captain with the mighty heart;
And when the step of earthquake shook the house,
Wresting the rafters from their ancient hold,
He held the ridgepole up and spiked again
The rafters of the Home. He held his place—
Held the long purpose like a growing tree—
Held on through blame and faltered not at praise.
And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a kingly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

LETTERS

Adams, Charles Francis.

Before his departure for England, Mr. Adams, the newly appointed Minister to the Court of St. James, received through Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, certain instructions given in the name of the President, of which the following are the most important.

Department of State,
Washington, April 10, 1861.

. . . . . .

First. The President has noticed, as the whole American people have, with much emotion, the expressions of good-will and friendship towards the United States, and of concern for their present embarrassments, which have been made on apt occasions, by her Majesty and her ministers.

You will make due acknowledgment for these manifestations, but at the same time you will not rely on any mere sympathies or national kindness. You will make no admissions of weakness in our Constitution, or of apprehension on the part of the Government. You will rather prove, as you easily can, by comparing the history of our country with that of other States, that its Constitution and Government are really the strongest and surest which have ever been erected for the safety of any people. You will in no case listen to any suggestions of compro-

mises by this Government under foreign auspices, with its discontented citizens. If, as the President does not at all apprehend, you shall unhappily find her Majesty's Government tolerating the application of the so-called seceding States, or wavering about it, you will not leave them to suppose for a moment that they can grant that application and remain friends with the United States. You may even assure them promptly, in that case, that if they determine to recognize, they may at the same time prepare to enter into alliance with the enemies of this republic. You alone will represent your country at London, and you will represent the whole of it there. When you are asked to divide that duty with others, diplomatic relations between the Government of Great Britain and this Government will be suspended, and will remain so until it shall be seen which of the two is most strongly intrenched in the confidence of their respective nations and of mankind.

You will not be allowed, however, even if you were disposed, as the President is sure you will not be, to rest your opposition to the application of the Confederate States on the ground of any favor this Administration, or the party which chiefly called it into existence, proposes to show to Great Britain, or claims that Great Britain ought to show them. You will not consent to draw into debate before the British Government any opposing moral principles which may be supposed to lie at the foundation of the controversy between those States and the Federal Union.

You will indulge in no expressions of harshness or disrespect, or even impatience concern-

ing the seceding States, their agents, or their people. But you will, on the contrary, all the while remember that those States are now, as they always heretofore have been, and, notwithstanding their temporary self-delusion, they must always continue to be, equal and honored members of this Federal Union, and that their citizens throughout all political misunderstandings and alienations, still are and always must be our kindred and countrymen. In short, all your arguments must belong to one of three classes, namely: First. Arguments drawn from the principles of public law and natural justice, which regulate the intercourse of equal States. Secondly. Arguments which concern equally the honor, welfare, and happiness of the discontented States, and the honor, welfare, and happiness of the whole Union. Thirdly. Arguments which are equally conservative of the rights and interests, and even sentiments of the United States, and just in their bearing upon the rights, interests, and sentiments of Great Britain and all other nations.

. . . . . .

The following instructions were given to Mr. Adams by Mr. Seward, after corrections in the text had been made by the President.

Department of State,
Washington, May 21, 1861.

Sir: Mr. Dallas, in a brief despatch of May 2d, tells us that Lord John Russell recently requested an interview with him on account of the solicitude which his lordship felt concerning the effect of certain measures represented as likely to be adopted by the President. In that

conversation the British secretary told Mr. Dallas that the three representatives of the Southern Confederacy were then in London, that Lord John Russell had not yet seen them, but that he was not unwilling to see them unofficially. He further informed Mr. Dallas that an understanding exists between the British and French governments which would lead both to take one and the same course as to recognition. His lordship then referred to the rumor of a meditated blockade by us of Southern ports, and a discontinuance of them as ports of entry. Mr. Dallas answered that he knew nothing on those topics, and therefore could say nothing. He added that you were expected to arrive in two weeks. Upon this statement Lord John Russell acquiesced in the expediency of waiting for the full knowledge you were expected to bring.

Mr. Dallas transmitted to us some newspaper reports of ministerial explanations made in Parliament.

You will base no proceedings on parliamentary debates further than to seek explanations when necessary and communicate them to this department.

The President regrets that Mr. Dallas did not protest against the proposed unofficial intercourse between the British government and the missionaries of the insurgents. It is due, however, to Mr. Dallas to say that our instructions had been given only to you and not to him and that his loyalty and fidelity, too rare in these times, are appreciated.

Intercourse of any kind with the so-called commissioners is liable to be construed as a recognition of the authority which appointed them.

Such intercourse would be none the less hurtful to us for being called unofficial, and it might be even more injurious, because we should have no means of knowing what points might be resolved by it. Moreover, unofficial intercourse is useless and meaningless if it is not expected to ripen into official intercourse and direct recognition. It is left doubtful here whether the proposed unofficial intercourse has yet actually begun. Your own antecedent instructions are deemed explicit enough, and it is hoped that you have not misunderstood them. You will in any event desist from all intercourse whatever, unofficial as well as official, with the British government, so long as it shall continue intercourse of either kind with the domestic enemies of this country. When intercourse shall have been arrested for this cause, you will communicate with this department and receive further directions.

Lord John Russell has informed us of an understanding between the British and French government that they will act together in regard to our affairs. This communication, however, loses something of its value from the circumstance that the communication was withheld until after knowledge of the fact had been acquired by us from other sources. We know also another fact that has not yet been officially communicated to us—namely, that other European States are apprised by France and England of their agreement, and are expected to concur with or follow them in whatever measures they adopt on the subject of recognition. The United States have been impartial and just in all their conduct toward the several nations of Europe. They

will not complain, however, of the combination now announced by the two leading powers, although they think they had a right to expect a more independent, if not a more friendly, course from each of them. You will take no notice of that or any other alliance. Whenever the European governments shall see fit to communicate directly with us, we shall be, as heretofore, frank and explicit in our reply.

As to the blockade, you will say that by our own laws and the laws of nature and the laws of nations, this government has a clear right to suppress insurrection. An exclusion of commerce from national ports which have been seized by the insurgents, in the equitable form of blockade, is the proper means to that end. You will not insist that our blockade is to be respected if it be not maintained by a competent force; but passing by that question as not now a practical, or at least an urgent one, you will add that the blockade is now, and will continue to be so maintained, and therefore we expect it to be respected by Great Britain. You will add that we have already revoked the exequatur of a Russian consul who had enlisted in the military service of the insurgents, and we shall dismiss or demand the recall of every foreign agent, consular or diplomatic, who shall either disobey the Federal laws or disown the Federal authority.

As to the recognition of the so-called Southern Confederacy, it is not to be made a subject of technical definition. It is, of course, direct recognition to publish an acknowledgment of the sovereignty and independence of a new power. It is direct recognition to receive its ambassadors,

JEFFERSON DAVIS

ministers, agents, or commissioners officially. A concession of belligerent rights is liable to be construed as a recognition of them. No one of these proceedings will pass unquestioned by the United States in this case.

Hitherto recognition has been moved only on the assumption that the so-called Confederate States are *de facto* a self-sustaining power. Now, after long forbearance, designed to soothe discontent and avert the need of civil war, the land and naval forces of the United States have been put in motion to repress the insurrection. The true character of the pretended new State is at once revealed. It is seen to be a power existing in pronunciamento only. It has never won a field. It has obtained no forts that were not virtually betrayed into its hands or seized in breach of trust. It commands not a single port on the coast nor any highway out from its pretended capital by land. Under these circumstances Great Britain is called upon to intervene and give it body and independence by resisting our measures of suppression. British recognition would be British intervention to create within our own territory a hostile state by overthrowing this republic itself.

As to the treatment of privateers in the insurgent service, you will say that this is a question exclusively our own. We treat them as pirates. They are our own citizens, or persons employed by our citizens, preying on the commerce of our country. If Great Britain shall choose to recognize them as lawful belligerents, and give them shelter from our pursuit and punishment, the laws of nations afford an adequate and proper remedy.

Happily, however, her Britannic Majesty's government can avoid all these difficulties. It invited us in 1856 to accede to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, of which body Great Britain was herself a member, abolishing privateering everywhere in all cases and forever. You already have our authority to propose to her our accession to that declaration. If she refuse to receive it, it can only be because she is willing to become the patron of privateering when aimed at our devastation.

These positions are not elaborately defended now, because to vindicate them would imply a possibility of our waiving them.

We are not insensible of the grave importance of this occasion. We see how, upon the result of the debate in which we are engaged, a war may ensue between the United States and one, two, or even more European nations. War in any case is as exceptionable from the habits as it is revolting from the sentiments of the American people. But if it come, it will be fully seen that it results from the action of Great Britain, not our own; that Great Britain will have decided to fraternize with our domestic enemy, either without waiting to hear from you our remonstrances and our warnings, or after having heard them. War in defense of national life is not immoral, and war in defense of independence is an inevitable part of the discipline of nations.

The dispute will be between the European and the American branches of the British race. All who belong to that race will especially deprecate it, as they ought. It may well be believed that men of every race and kindred will

deplore it. A war not unlike it between the same parties occurred at the close of the last century. Europe atoned by forty years of suffering for the error that Great Britain committed in provoking that contest. If that nation shall now repeat the same great error, the social convulsions which will follow may not be so long, but they will be more general. When they shall have ceased, it will, we think, be seen, whatever may have been the fortunes of other nations, that it is not the United States that will have come out of them with its precious Constitution altered or its honestly obtained dominion in any degree abridged. Great Britain has but to wait a few months and all her present inconveniences will cease with all our own troubles. If she take a different course, she will calculate for herself the ultimate as well as the immediate consequences, and will consider what position she will hold when she shall have forever lost the sympathies and the affections of the only nation on whose sympathies and affections she has a natural claim. In making that calculation she will do well to remember that in the controversy she proposes to open we shall be actuated by neither pride, nor passion, nor cupidity, nor ambition; but we shall stand simply on the principle of self-preservation, and that our cause will involve the independence of nations and the rights of human nature.

I am, sir, respectfully your obedient servant,

W. H. S.

Charles Francis Adams, Esq., etc.

Adams, Green.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 7, 1863.

Hon. Green Adams.

My dear Sir: In answer to your inquiries of this morning, I have to say that I am very anxious to have the special force in Kentucky raised and armed. But the changed conduct toward me of some of her members of Congress, and the ominous outgivings as to what the governor and legislature of Kentucky intend doing, admonish me to consider whether any additional arms I may send there are not to be turned against the government. I hope this may clear up on the right side. So far as I can see, Kentucky's sons in the field are acting loyally and bravely. God bless them! I cannot help thinking the mass of her people feel the same way.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Adams, James.*

On August 19, 1837, a "handbill" appeared in the Sangamon *Journal,* of Springfield, Illinois, containing articles in reference to a case of the heirs of Joseph Anderson vs. James Adams, which had already been published and distributed in handbill form. The author regretted that the "publications were not made some weeks before the election" [*in which the said "General" Adams had been elected probate justice of the peace*]. "Such a course might have prevented the expressions of regret, which have

* The correspondence, etc., is here abridged for sake of brevity.

often been heard since, from different individuals, on account of the disposition they made of their votes."

The handbill states that "in May or June last, a widow woman, by the name of Anderson, and her son," came to Springfield to sell "a ten-acre lot of ground lying near town which they claimed as the property of the deceased husband."

They found the land was claimed by Gen. Adams, and employed "John T. Stuart and myself . . . to look into the matter," and if there was prospect of success, "to commence a suit for the land." It was found that there had been three transfers since the original entry, made in ten or eleven years, "all recorded at the same time, and that within less than one year."

"This I thought a suspicious circumstance, and I was thereby induced to examine the deeds very closely, with a view to the discovery of some defect by which to overturn the title, being almost convinced that it was founded in fraud."

As a result of these investigations it was found that the deed to one Joseph Miller, who subsequently deeded the land to Adams, had been improperly recorded. This error was corrected by Mr. Talbott, the recorder. When Talbott handed the deed to Lincoln another paper fell out of it which proved to be an assignment in the Circuit Court of a judgment of $25 against Joseph Miller from Joseph Anderson, the late husband of the plaintiff, to James Adams. Now this assignment, dated May 10, 1827, was not obtained until the October afterwards. Though it bore date of 1827, the figure "2" had been made over a figure "3," and the freshness of

the writing and the old appearance of the paper indicated that the document was not more than a week old. This assignment I copied, word for word, letter for letter, and cross for cross. (*Here follows the copy.*)

Anderson, after he had purchased the land in question from one Thomas, before receiving a deed for it, had sold it to Miller, taking as payment a note for $25. "When this note became due, Anderson sued Miller on it, and Miller procured an injunction from the Court of Chancery to stay the collection . . . until he could get a deed for the land. . . . At the October term, 1827, the injunction was dissolved, and a judgment given in favor of Anderson," and it was provided that Thomas was to execute a deed for the land in favor of Miller, and deliver it to Gen. Adams, Anderson's attorney, to be held up by him till Miller paid the judgment, when Adams was to deliver it to Miller. "Miller left the county without paying the judgment. Anderson moved to Fulton County, where he has since died." When the widow "found the land deeded to Gen. Adams by Miller, she was naturally led to inquire why the money due upon the judgment had not been sent to them, inasmuch as he, Gen. Adams, had no authority to deliver Thomas's deed to Miller until the money was paid." Gen. Adams told her that Anderson *had assigned the judgment to him.*

"I am now told that the General is exhibiting an assignment of the same judgment bearing date '1828'; and in other respects differing from the one described; and that he is asserting that no such assignment as the one copied by me ever existed; or if there did, it was forged

between Talbott and the lawyers, and slipped into his [*Adams's*] papers for the purpose of injuring him. Now, I can only say that I know precisely such a one did exist, and that Ben. Talbott, Wm. Butler, C. R. Matheny, John T. Stuart, Judge Logan, Robert Irwin, P. C. Canedy, and S. M. Tinsley, all saw and examined it, and that at least one-half of them will swear that IT WAS IN GENERAL ADAMS'S HANDWRITING!! And further, I know that Talbott will swear that he got it out of the General's possession, and returned it into his possession again. The assignment which the General is now exhibiting purports to have been by Anderson in writing. The one I copied was signed with a cross. I am told that Gen. Neale says that he will swear, that he heard Gen. Adams tell young Anderson that the assignment made by his father was signed with a cross." . . .

"I have only made these statements because I am known by many to be one of the individuals against whom the charge of forging the assignment and slipping it into the General's papers, has been made; and because our silence might be construed into a confession of its truth. I shall not subscribe my name; but I hereby authorize the editor of the 'Journal' to give it up to any one that may call for it."

"[It having been stated this morning that the subscriber had refused to give the name of the handbill above referred to (which statement is not true): to save any farther remarks on this subject, I now state that A. Lincoln, Esq., is the author of the handbill in question.—Simeon Francis.]"

On September 6, 1837, Gen. Adams published a communication in the Springfield "Republican," replying to Lincoln's handbill. In it Adams and the editor of the *Republican* attempted to prove: *First,* that the assignment could not have been in the deed when Talbott, the recorder, got it, else he would have observed it, of which observation Lincoln made no mention. *Second,* that Talbott had stated that he had not found the assignment in the deed, but in another paper. *Third,* that the assignment in question had been "manufactured at a certain lawyer's [*Lincoln's*] office between two days just before the last election." *Fourth,* that Talbott, the recorder, had exhibited signs of guilt upon bringing the papers to Adams's house. *Fifth,* that he, Adams, had never concealed his possession of the *genuine* assignment, but, on the contrary, had publicly acknowledged it.

On September 6, 1837, Lincoln wrote to the Sangamon *Journal* a communication which was published on September 9, 1837, under the heading of "Lincoln and Talbott Reply to Gen. Adams." It answered the five points of Adams as follows:

1. "I omitted to state the fact of Talbott's seeing the assignment, because its existence was so necessarily connected with other facts which I did state, that I thought the greatest dunce could not but understand it. . . . We may expect to find the General, if a little harder pressed for argument, saying that I said Talbott came to our office with his head downward, . . . because I omitted to say he came feet downward."

2. "If Talbott did find [*the assignment*] in an-

other paper at *his* office, is that any reason why he could not have folded it in a deed and brought it to my office?"

3. "Turn to Mr. Keys' affidavit: 'I certify that some time in May or the early part of June, 1837, I saw at Williams's corner, a paper purporting to be an assignment from Joseph Anderson to James Adams, which assignment was signed by a mark to Anderson's name,' etc. Now mark, if Keys saw the assignment on the last of May or first of June, Gen. Adams tells a falsehood when he says it was *manufactured just before the election,* which was on the 7th of August; and if it was manufactured just before the election, Keys tells a falsehood when he says he saw it on the last of May or first of June. Either Keys or the General is irretrievably in for it; and in the General's very condescending language, I say, 'let them settle it between them.'"

4. "Commenting on Weber's affidavit [*that Talbott in delivering certain papers at Gen. Adams's house had appeared "wild and confused"*] General Adams asks, 'Why this fright and confusion?' I reply that this is a question for the General himself. Weber says that it was in *May.* . . . Is it not a strong evidence that the General is not traveling with the polestar of truth in his front to see him in one part of his address roundly asserting that the assignment was manufactured *just before the election,* and then, forgetting that position, procuring Weber's most foolish affidavit to prove that Talbott had been engaged in manufacturing it *two months before?*"

5. "In another part of his address, Gen. Adams

says, 'That I hold an assignment of said judgment, dated the 20th day of May, 1828, and signed by said Anderson, I have never pretended to deny or to conceal, but stated that fact in one of my circulars previous to the election, and also in answer *to a bill in chancery.*' Now I pronounce this statement unqualifiedly false. . . . In his circular he did speak of an assignment, but he *did not* say it bore date 20th of May, 1828. . . . In his answer in chancery he did say that he had an assignment, but he did *not* say that it bore date the 20th of May, 1828; but so far from it, he said on oath that as well as recollected, he obtained it in 1827. . . .

"In conclusion I will only say that I have a character to defend as well as Gen. Adams, but I disdain to *whine* about it as he does. It is true I have no children nor *kitchen boys* [*Adams relied chiefly on the affidavits of his son and Weber, presumably a negro house servant*]; and if I had, I would scorn to lug them in to make affidavits for me."

A. Lincoln.

On October 18, 1837, there appeared in the Springfield *Republican* a communication from General Adams, six columns in length, in defense of his position. On the same day Lincoln wrote a letter to the Sangamon *Journal,* which appeared on October 28, 1837, under the heading of "Reply to General Adams. To the Public."

In this Lincoln points out that Adams retreats from his charge that the assignment was manufactured "between two days just before the

election," and to the contrary offers new testimony that this was done "some weeks before election."

Then, Lincoln calls attention to the fact that Adams ignores the telling points made against him. "I mention these things," says Lincoln, "because, if, when I convict him in one falsehood, he is permitted to shift his ground and pass it by in silence, there can be no end to this controversy."

Of Adams's threat that there are "those who are made to suffer at his hands," Lincoln expresses no fear, sarcastically observing that he is neither a *widow* nor an *orphan,* and that he has no wife nor children who might become such. In reply to Adams's attack on lawyers, Lincoln reminds him that "when he [*Adams*] first came to this country he attempted to impose upon the community as a *lawyer,* and actually carried the attempt so far, as to induce a man who was under a charge of murder to entrust the defense of his life in his hands, and finally took his money and got him hanged."

Lincoln proves the falsity of the testimony of Lucian Adams, the General's son, who swore that Talbott, the recorder, pointed out to him the error *in the deed.* "Turn to Lucian's affidavit," says Lincoln, "and you will there see that Talbott called for the deed by which to correct an error on the *record.* . . . How then could Talbott open the deed and point out the *error?* . . . It is easy enough to see why Lucian swore this. His object was to prove that the assignment *was not* in the deed when Talbott got it: but . . . he could not swear this safely without first swearing the deed was *opened*—

and if he swore it was *opened,* he must show a *motive* for opening it."

Lincoln shows that Adams had a sufficient motive in forging the assignment in the fact that the one filed in the suit was insufficient for the purpose. "His making the date too old is also easily enough accounted for. The records were not in his hands, and then there being some considerable talk upon this particular subject, he knew he could not examine the records to ascertain the precise dates without subjecting himself to suspicion; and hence he concluded to try it by guess, and as it turned out, missed it a little."

After showing that Adams draws wholly unwarranted conclusions from the testimony, Lincoln refers to his attempt to compromise with his opponents:

"Speaking of Talbott and me he says, *'They may have been imposed upon.'* Can any man of the least penetration fail to see the object of this? After he has stormed and raged till he hopes and imagines he has got us a little scared, he wishes to softly whisper in our ears, 'If you'll quit I will.' If he could get us to say that some unknown, undefined being had slipped the assignment into our hands without our knowledge, not a doubt remains but that he would immediately discover that we were the purest men on earth. This is the ground that he evidently wishes us to understand he is willing to compromise upon. But we ask no such charity at his hands. We are neither *mistaken* nor *imposed upon.* We have made the statements we have, because we know them to be true and we choose to live or die by them."

[*Lincoln concludes:*]

"General Adams's publications and out-door maneuvering taken in connection with the editorial articles of the 'Republican,' are not more foolish and contradictory than they are ludicrous and amusing. One week the 'Republican' notifies the public that Gen. Adams is preparing an *instrument* that will tear, rend, split, rive, blow up, confound, overwhelm, annihilate, extinguish, exterminate, burst asunder, and grind to powder all its slanderers, and particularly Talbott and Lincoln—all of which is to be done *in due time.* Then for two or three weeks all is calm—not a word said. Again the 'Republican' comes forth with a mere passing remark that 'Public opinion has decided in favor of Gen. Adams,' and intimates that he will give himself no more trouble about the matter. In the meantime Adams himself is prowling about, and as Burns says of the Devil, 'For prey, a' holes and corners tryin',' and in one instance goes so far as to take an old acquaintance of mine several steps from a crowd and, apparently weighed down with the importance of his business, gravely and solemnly asks him if *'he ever heard Lincoln say he was a Deist.'* Anon the 'Republican' comes again, 'We invite the attention of the public to General Adams's communication,' &c. 'The victory is a great one,' 'The triumph is overwhelming,' (I really believe the editor of the Illinois 'Republican' is fool enough to think General Adams is an honest man.) Then Gen. Adams leads off—*'Authors most egregiously mistaken,'* &c.,—*'most wofully shall their presumption be punished,'* &c. (Lord have mercy on us.) *'The hour is yet to come,*

yea nigh at hand—(how long first do you reckon?)—*when the 'Journal' and its junto shall say, 'I have appeared too early—Their infamy shall be laid bare to the public gaze.'* Suddenly the General appears to relent at the severity with which he is treating us and he exclaims, *'The condemnation of my enemies is the inevitable result of my own defense.'* For your health's sake, dear General, do not permit your tenderness of heart to afflict you so much on our account. For some reason (perhaps because we are killed so quickly) we shall never be sensible of our suffering.

"Farewell, General. I will see you again at Court, if not before—when and where we will settle the question whether you or the widow shall have the land."

"A. Lincoln.

"October 18, 1837."

AGRICULTURE, COMMISSIONER OF.

Executive Mansion, August 5, 1863.

Dear Sir: . . . About a year ago Captain Isaac R. Diller came to me with a proposition in regard to a new compound of gunpowder; the ingredients and mode of compounding being a secret. It promised important advantages, which would be very valuable, if the promise was made good. But he did not wish to give the government the secret; nor did the government wish to buy it without a test of its value. For this object, the manufacture of a quantity of it became indispensable; and this again required the service of a good chemist. Dr. Charles M. Wetherill, Chemist in your Department, was an ac-

quaintance of Captain Diller, and was sought by him to aid in the manufacture of the powder. As I remember I requested you to allow him to do so, which you did. A small quantity was manufactured, and proved so far satisfactory that Captain, now Admiral, Dahlgren advised the making of a large quantity so as to test it for artillery use. I consented, and procured the Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy, to advance, from time [*to time*], sums amounting in the whole to five thousand dollars, from funds under their discretionary control. Dr. Wetherill's service was again required, and again obtained, perhaps, so far as you are concerned, at my request. At the time, nothing was said, or thought of, so far as I remember, as to his receiving his salary at your Department, while engaged at the powder. Now, being brought to my mind, it seems reasonable he should receive his salary for that time, which he tells me is refused. The manufacture of the powder has required the building of a good deal of expensive machinery, leaving the five thousand dollars fund no reliance for Dr. Wetherill. In fact, I suppose Captain Diller thought the government was furnishing Dr. Wetherill, as one of its officers, to make the experiment.

Dr. Wetherill presents another question, which is as to the amount of his permanent or general salary. I see that the law fixes the salary of a class to which the chemist belongs "corresponding to the salaries of similar officers in other Departments," and I do not see that the law assigns me any duty or discretion about it. All I can do is to give a sort of legal opinion that this salary should be fixed according to the law.

I do wish these questions could be settled, without further difficulty. I do not know what has been fixed as the salary of similar officers in other Departments; but I suppose this can not be hard to ascertain.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

ADDISON, JOHN.

Springfield, Illinois, September 27, 1849.

John Addison, Esq.

My dear Sir: Your letter is received. I cannot but be grateful to you and all other friends who have interested themselves in having the governorship of Oregon offered to me; but on as much reflection as I have had time to give the subject, I cannot consent to accept it. I have an ever abiding wish to serve you; but as to the secretaryship, I have already recommended our friend Simeon Francis, of the "Journal." Please present my respects to G. T. M. Davis generally, and my thanks especially for his kindness in the Oregon matter.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

ALLEN, ROBERT.

New Salem, June 21, 1836.

Dear Colonel: I am told that during my absence last week you passed through this place, and stated publicly that you were in possession of a fact or facts which, if known to the public, would entirely destroy the prospects of N. W. Edwards and myself at the ensuing election; but that, through favor to us, you should forbear to divulge them. No one has needed favors more than I, and, generally, few have been less

unwilling to accept them; but in this case favor to me would be injustice to the public, and therefore I must beg your pardon for declining it. That I once had the confidence of the people of Sangamon, is sufficiently evident; and if I have since done anything, either by design or misadventure, which if known would subject me to a forfeiture of that confidence, he that knows of that thing, and conceals it, is a traitor to his country's interest.

I find myself wholly unable to form any conjecture of what fact or facts, real or supposed, you spoke; but my opinion of your veracity will not permit me for a moment to doubt that you at least believed what you said. I am flattered with the personal regard you manifested for me; but I do hope that on more mature reflection, you will view the public interest as a paramount consideration, and therefore determine to let the worst come. I here assure you that the candid statement of facts on your part, however low it may sink me, shall never break the tie of personal friendship between us. I wish an answer to this, and you are at liberty to publish both, if you choose.

Very respectfully,

A. Lincoln.

ANDERSON, ROBERT.

[*Instructions to Major Anderson, Drafted by the President and Signed by the Secretary of War.*]

War Department,

Washington, April 4, 1861.

Sir: Your letter of the 1st instant occasions some anxiety to the President.

On the information of Captain Fox, he had supposed you could hold out till the 15th instant without any great inconvenience, and had prepared an expedition to relieve you before that period.

Hoping still that you will be able to sustain yourself till the 11th or 12th instant, the expedition will go forward, and, finding your flag flying, will attempt to provision you, and in case the effort is resisted, will endeavor also to reinforce you.

You will therefore hold out, if possible, till the arrival of the expedition.

It is not, however, the intention of the President to subject your command to any danger or hardship beyond what, in your judgment, would be usual in military life; and he has entire confidence that you will act as becomes a patriot and a soldier under all circumstances.

Whenever, if at all, in your judgment, to save yourself and command, a capitulation becomes a necessity, you are authorized to make it.

Respectfully,
Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.

[*Indorsement by Lincoln.*]

This was sent by Captain Talbot on April 6, 1861, to be delivered to Major Anderson, if permitted. On reaching Charleston, he was refused permission to deliver it to Major Anderson.

Washington, D. C., May 1, 1861.

Major Robert Anderson.

My dear Sir: A few days ago I caused an official letter to be written to you, through the

War Department, expressive of the approbation and gratitude I consider due you and your command from this government.

I now write this as a purely private and social letter to say I shall be much gratified to see you here at your earliest convenience when and where I can personally testify my appreciation of your services and fidelity, and perhaps explain some things on my part which you may not have understood.

I shall also be very glad to see any of the officers who served with you at Fort Sumter, and whom it might be convenient and agreeable for you to invite to accompany you here.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Supplementary to the proclamation, of May 7, 1861, calling for 42,034 volunteers, President Lincoln gave an order to Colonel Anderson to enlist volunteers in Kentucky and Western Virginia.

ANDERSON, W. G.

Lawrenceville, October 31, 1840.

W. G. Anderson.

Dear Sir: Your note of yesterday is received. In the difficulty between us of which you speak, you say you think I was the aggressor. I do not think I was. You say my "words imported insult." I meant them as a fair set-off to your own statements, and not otherwise; and in that light alone I now wish you to understand them. You ask for my present "feelings on the subject." I entertain no unkind feelings to you, and none of any sort upon the subject, except a sincere

regret that I permitted myself to get into such an altercation.

Yours, etc.,

A. Lincoln.

Andrews, I. D.

[*Memorandum.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 17, 1863.

Mr. Israel D. Andrews appeals to me, saying he is suffering injury by something I have said of him. I really know very little of Mr. Andrews. As well as I can remember, I was called on by one or two persons asking me to give him or aid him in getting some public employment; and as a reason for declining I stated that I had a very unfavorable opinion of him, chiefly because I had been informed that, in connection with some former service of his to the government, he had presented an enormous and unjustifiable claim, which I understood he was still pressing the government to pay. I certainly did not pretend to know anything of the matter personally; and I say now, I do not personally know anything which should detract from Mr. Andrews's character.

A. Lincoln.

Andrews, ———.

Cincinnati, January 7, 1864.

To Hon. S. P. Chase:

One Andrews is to be shot for desertion at Covington, to-morrow. The proceedings have never been submitted to the President. Is this right?

Governor Hoadley.

[*Indorsement.*]

The case of Andrews is really a very bad one, as appears by the record already before me. Yet before receiving this I had ordered his punishment commuted to imprisonment for during the war at hard labor, and had so telegraphed. I did this, not on any merit in the case, but because I am trying to evade the butchering business lately.

A. Lincoln.

ARNOLD, I. N.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, May 25, 1864.

Hon. I. N. Arnold.

My dear Sir: In regard to the order of General Burnside suspending the Chicago *Times,* now nearly a year ago, I can only say I was embarrassed with the question between what was due to the military service on the one hand, and the liberty of the press on the other, and I believe it was the despatch of Senator Trumbull and yourself, added to the proceedings of the meeting which it brought me, that turned the scale in favor of my revoking the order.

I am far from certain to-day that the revocation was not right; and I am very sure the small part you took in it is no just ground to disparage your judgment, much less to impugn your motives. I take it that your devotion to the Union and the administration cannot be questioned by any sincere man.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[See also BOAL, ROBERT, Dec. 25, 1856.]

ASBURY, HENRY.

Springfield, July 31, 1858.

Henry Asbury, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 28th is received. The points you propose to press upon Douglas he will be very hard to get up to, but I think you labor under a mistake when you say no one cares how he answers. This implies that it is equal with him whether he is injured here or at the South. That is a mistake. He cares nothing for the South; he knows he is already dead there. He only leans Southward more to keep the Buchanan party from growing in Illinois. You shall have hard work to get him directly to the point whether a territorial legislature has or has not the power to exclude slavery. But if you succeed in bringing him to it—though he will be compelled to say it possesses no such power—he will instantly take ground that slavery cannot actually exist in the Territories unless the people desire it, and so give it protection by territorial legislation. If this offends the South, he will let it offend them, as at all events he means to hold on to his chances in Illinois. You will soon learn by the papers that both the judge and myself are to be in Quincy on the 13th of October, when and where I expect the pleasure of seeing you.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, November 19, 1858.

Henry Asbury, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 13th was received some days ago. The fight must go on. The

cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred defeats. Douglas had the ingenuity to be supported in the late contest both as the best means to break down and to uphold the slave interest. No ingenuity can keep these antagonistic elements in harmony long. Another explosion will soon come.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

ASHMUN, GEORGE.

On May 23, 1860, Mr. Lincoln wrote a letter to "George Ashmun and the Republican Convention," accepting the nomination for President. It appears on page 80, volume five, of the present edition.

Springfield, Ill., June 4, 1860.

Hon. George Ashmun.

My dear Sir: It seems as if the question whether my first name is "Abraham" or "Abram" will never be settled. It is "Abraham," and if the letter of acceptance is not yet in print, you may, if you think fit, have my signature thereto printed "Abraham Lincoln." Exercise your judgment about this.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., April 14, 1865.

Allow Mr. Ashmun and his friends to come in at 9 a. m. to-morrow.

A. Lincoln.*

* The last writing of Lincoln. He wrote it on a card just before leaving the White House for Ford's Theatre.

Astor, J. J., and Others.

(*Private, except to General Dix.*)

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., November 9, 1863.

Messrs. J. J. Astor, Jr., R. B. Roosevelt, and Nathaniel Sands.

Gentlemen: Upon the subject of your letter, I have to say that it is beyond my province to interfere with New York city politics; that I am very grateful to General Dix for the zealous and able military and quasi-civil support he has given the government during the war, and that if the people of New York should tender him the mayoralty, and he accept it, nothing on that subject could be more satisfactory to me. In this I must not be understood as saying aught against any one, or as attempting the least degree of dictation in the matter.

To state it in another way, if General Dix's present relation to the General Government lays any restraint upon him in this matter, I wish to remove that restraint.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Baldwin, D. S. D.

On August 19, 1864, through his secretary, John G. Nicolay, the President returned an application for military promotion from one D. S. D. Baldwin, saying that he "never interfered with the details of army organization," and recommending Baldwin to apply to General Patrick.

Bancroft, George.

New York, November 15, 1861.

My dear Sir: Following out your suggestion, a very numerous meeting of New-Yorkers assembled last week to take measures for relieving the loyal sufferers of Hatteras. I take the liberty to inclose to you some remarks which I made on the occasion. You will find in them a copy of an unpublished letter of one of your most honored predecessors, with which you cannot fail to be pleased.

Your administration has fallen upon times which will be remembered as long as human events find a record. I sincerely wish to you the glory of perfect success. Civil War is the instrument of Divine Providence to root out social slavery. Posterity will not be satisfied with the result unless the consequences of the war shall effect an increase of free States. This is the universal expectation and hope of men of all parties.

Very respectfully yours,

Geo. Bancroft.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, November 18, 1861.

My dear Sir: I esteem it a high honor to have received a note from Mr. Bancroft, inclosing the report of proceedings of a New York meeting taking measures for the relief of Union people of North Carolina. I thank you and all others participating for this benevolent and patriotic movement.

The main thought in the closing paragraph of your letter is one which does not escape my attention, and with which I must deal in all due caution, and with the best judgment I can bring to it.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Hon. Geo. Bancroft.

BANKS, NATHANIEL P.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 29, 1862. 12 m.

Major-General Banks, Williamsport, Maryland:

General McDowell's advance should, and probably will, be at or near Front Royal at twelve (noon) to-morrow. General Frémont will be at or near Strasburg as soon. Please watch the enemy closely, and follow and harass and detain him if he attempts to retire. I mean this for General Saxton's force as well as that immediately with you.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 30, 1862. 10.15 a. m.

Major-General Banks,

Williamsport, Maryland, *via* Harper's Ferry:

If the enemy in force is in or about Martinsburg, Charlestown, and Winchester, or any or all of them, he may come in collision with Frémont, in which case I am anxious that your force, with you and at Harper's Ferry, should so operate as to assist Frémont if possible; the same if the enemy should engage McDowell. This was the meaning of my despatch yesterday.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

On June 1, 1862, Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, telegraphed General Banks at Williamsport of the addition to his force of Major-General Sigel with 10.000 men, adding—"the President desires you to assume actively the offensive against the retreating enemy without the loss of an hour."

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 22, 1862.

Major-General Banks, Middletown:

I am very glad you are looking well to the west for a movement of the enemy in that direction. You know my anxiety on that point. All was quiet at General McClellan's headquarters at two o'clock to-day.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 22, 1862.

My dear General Banks: Early last week you left me in high hope with your assurance that you would be off with your expedition at the end of that week, or early in this. It is now the end of this, and I have just been overwhelmed and confounded with the sight of a requisition made by you which, I am assured, cannot be filled and got off within an hour short of two months. I inclose you a copy of the requisition, in some hope that it is not genuine—that you have never seen it. My dear general, this expanding and piling up of *impedimenta* has been, so far, almost our ruin, and will be our final ruin if it is not abandoned. If you had the articles of this requisition upon the wharf, with the necessary animals to make them of any use, and forage for the animals, you could not get vessels together in two weeks to carry the whole, to say nothing of your twenty thousand men; and, having the vessels, you could not put the cargoes aboard in two weeks more. And, after all, where you are going you have no use for them. When you parted with me you had

no such ideas in your mind. I know you had not, or you could not have expected to be off so soon as you said. You must get back to something like the plan you had then, or your expedition is a failure before you start. You must be off before Congress meets. You would be better off anywhere, and especially where you are going, for not having a thousand wagons doing nothing but hauling forage to feed the animals that draw them, and taking at least two thousand men to care for the wagons and animals, who otherwise might be two thousand good soldiers. Now, dear general, do not think this is an ill-natured letter; it is the very reverse. The simple publication of this requisition would ruin you.

Very truly your friend,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private Letter.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 29, 1863.

Major-General Banks.

My dear Sir: Hon. Daniel Ullman, with a commission of a brigadier-general and two or three hundred other gentlemen as officers, goes to your department and reports to you, for the purpose of raising a colored brigade. To now avail ourselves of this element of force is very important, if not indispensable. I therefore will thank you to help General Ullman forward with his undertaking as much and as rapidly as you can; and also to carry the general object beyond his particular organization if you find it practicable. The necessity of this is palpable if, as

I understand, you are now unable to effect anything with your present force; and which force is soon to be greatly diminished by the expiration of terms of service, as well as by ordinary causes. I shall be very glad if you will take hold of the matter in earnest. You will receive from the [*War*] Department a regular order upon this subject.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[See BLAIR, FRANK P., SR., July 30, 1863.]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 5, 1863.

My dear General Banks:

Being a poor correspondent is the only apology I offer for not having sooner tendered my thanks for your very successful and very valuable military operations this year. The final stroke in opening the Mississippi never should, and I think never will, be forgotten.

Recent events in Mexico, I think, render early action in Texas more important than ever. I expect, however, the general-in-chief will address you more fully upon this subject.

Governor Boutwell read me to-day that part of your letter to him which relates to Louisiana affairs. While I very well know what I would be glad for Louisiana to do, it is quite a different thing for me to assume direction of the matter. I would be glad for her to make a new constitution recognizing the emancipation proclamation, and adopting emancipation in those parts of the State to which the proclamation does not apply. And while she is at it, I think it would not be objectionable for her to adopt

some practical system by which the two races could gradually live themselves out of the old relation to each other, and both come out better prepared for the new. Education for young blacks should be included in the plan. After all, the power or element of "contract" may be sufficient for this probationary period; and, by its simplicity and flexibility, may be the better.

As an anti-slavery man, I have a motive to desire emancipation which pro-slavery men do not have; but even they have strong enough reason to thus place themselves again under the shield of the Union; and to thus perpetually hedge against the recurrence of the scenes through which we are now passing.

Governor Shepley has informed me that Mr. Durant is now taking a registry, with a view to the election of a constitutional convention in Louisiana. This to me appears proper. If such convention were to ask my views, I could present little else than what I now say to you. I think the thing should be pushed forward, so that, if possible, its mature work may reach here by the meeting of Congress.

For my own part, I think I shall not, in any event, retract the emancipation proclamation; nor, as executive, ever return to slavery any person who is freed by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress.

If Louisiana shall send members to Congress, their admission to seats will depend, as you know, upon the respective Houses, and not upon the President.

If these views can be of any advantage in giving shape and impetus to action there, I shall be glad for you to use them prudently for that

object. Of course you will confer with intelligent and trusty citizens of the State, among whom I would suggest Messrs. Flanders, Hahn, and Durant; and to each of whom I now think I may send copies of this letter.

Still, it is perhaps better to not make the letter generally public.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

Copies sent to Messrs. Flanders, Hahn, and Durant, each indorsed as follows:

The within is a copy of a letter to General Banks.

Please observe my directions to him. Do not mention the paragraph about Mexico.

A. Lincoln.

August 6, 1863.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 5, 1863.

Major-General Banks:

Three months ago to-day I wrote you about Louisiana affairs, stating, on the word of Governor Shepley, as I understood him, that Mr. Durant was taking a registry of citizens preparatory to the election of a constitutional convention for that State. I sent a copy of the letter to Mr. Durant, and I now have his letter, written two months after, acknowledging receipt, and saying he is not taking such registry; and he does not let me know that he personally is expecting to do so. Mr. Flanders, to whom I also sent a copy, is now here, and he says nothing has yet been done. This disappoints me bit-

terly; yet I do not throw blame on you or on them.

I do, however, urge both you and them to lose no more time.

Governor Shepley has special instructions from the War Department. I wish him—those gentlemen and others coöperating—without waiting for more territory, to go to work and give me a tangible nucleus which the remainder of the State may rally around as fast as it can, and which I can at once recognize and sustain as the true State government. And in that work I wish you and all under your command to give them a hearty sympathy and support.

The instruction to Governor Shepley bases the movement (and rightfully, too) upon the loyal element. Time is important. There is danger, even now, that the adverse element seeks insidiously to preoccupy the ground. If a few professedly loyal men shall draw the disloyal about them, and colorably set up a State government, repudiating the Emancipation Proclamation, and reëstablishing slavery, I cannot recognize or sustain their work. I should fall powerless in the attempt. This government in such an attitude would be a house divided against itself.

I have said, and say again, that if a new State government, acting in harmony with this government, and consistently with general freedom, shall think best to adopt a reasonable temporary arrangement in relation to the landless and homeless freed people, I do not object; but my word is out to be for and not against them on the question of their permanent freedom. I do not insist upon such temporary arrangement, but

only say such would not be objectionable to me.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 24, 1863.

Major-General Banks:

Yours of the sixth instant has been received and fully considered. I deeply regret to have said or done anything which could give you pain or uneasiness. I have all the while intended you to be master, as well in regard to reorganizing a State government for Louisiana, as in regard to the military matters of the department; and hence my letters on reconstruction have nearly, if not quite, all been addressed to you. My error has been that it did not occur to me that Governor Shepley or any one else would set up a claim to act independently of you; and hence I said nothing expressly upon the point.

Language has not been guarded at a point where no danger was thought of. I now tell you that in every dispute with whomsoever, you are master.

Governor Shepley was appointed to assist the commander of the department, and not to thwart him or act independently of him. Instructions have been given directly to him merely to spare you detail labor, and not to supersede your authority. This, in its liability to be misconstrued, it now seems was an error in us. But it is past. I now distinctly tell you that you are master of all, and that I wish you to take the case as you find it, and give us a free State reorganization of Louisiana in the shortest possible time. What

I say here is to have a reasonable construction. I do not mean that you are to withdraw from Texas, or abandon any other military measure which you may deem important. Nor do I mean that you are to throw away available work already done for reconstruction; nor that war is to be made upon Governor Shepley, or upon any one else, unless it be found that they will not coöperate with you, in which case, and in all cases, you are master while you remain in command of the department.

My thanks for your successful and valuable operations in Texas.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 29, 1863.

Major-General Banks:

Yours of the sixteenth is received, and I send you, as covering the ground of it, a copy of my answer to yours of the sixth, it being possible the original may not reach you. I intend you to be master in every controversy made with you.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 13, 1864.

Major-General Banks:

I have received two letters from you, which are duplicates each of the other, except that one bears date the 27th and the other the 30th of December. Your confidence in the practicability of constructing a free-State government speedily for Louisiana, and your zeal to accomplish it are

very gratifying. It is a connection than in which the words "can" and "will" were never more precious. I am much in hope that on the authority of my letter of December 24, you have already begun the work. Whether you shall have done so or not, please, on receiving this, proceed with all possible despatch, using your own absolute discretion in all matters which may not carry you away from the conditions stated in your letters to me, nor from those of the message and proclamation of December 8. Frame orders, and fix times and places for this and that, according to your own judgment. I am much gratified to know that Mr. Dennison, the Collector at New Orleans, and who bears you this, understands your views and will give you his full and zealous coöperation. It is my wish and purpose that all others holding authority from me shall do the like; and, to spare me writing, I will thank you to make this known to them.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 31, 1864.

Major-General Banks:

Yours of the 22d instant is just received. In the proclamation of December 8, which contains the oath that you say some loyal people wish to avoid taking, I said: "And still further, that this proclamation is intended to present the people of the States wherein the national authority has been suspended, and loyal State governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal State governments may be reëstablished within said States,

or in any of them; and while the mode presented is the best the executive can suggest with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable."

And speaking of this in the message [*of December 8, 1863*] I said: "Saying that reconstruction will be accepted if presented in a specified way, it is not said it will never be accepted in any other way."

These things were put into these documents on purpose that some conformity to circumstances should be admissible; and when I have, more than once, said to you in my letters that available labor already done should not be thrown away, I had in my mind the very class of cases you now mention. So you see it is not even a modification of anything I have heretofore said, when I tell you that you are at liberty to adopt any rule which shall admit to vote any unquestionably loyal free-State men and none others.

And yet I do wish they would all take the oath.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 9, 1864.

Major-General Banks:

I have just seen the new constitution adopted by the Convention of Louisiana; and I am anxious that it shall be ratified by the people. I will thank you to let the civil officers in Louisiana, holding under me, know that this is my wish, and let me know at once who of them openly

declare for the constitution, and who of them, if any, decline to so declare.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 26, 1864.

Major-General Banks:

I had a full conference this morning with the Secretary of War in relation to yourself. The conclusion is that it will be best for all if you proceed to New Orleans and act there in obedience to your order; and, in doing which, having continued, say, one month, if it shall then, as now, be your wish to resign, your resignation will be accepted. Please take this course.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 2, 1864.

Major-General Banks:

I know you are dissatisfied, which pains me very much, but I wish not to be argued with further. I entertain no abatement of confidence or friendship for you. I have told you why I cannot order General Canby from the Department of the Gulf—that he whom I must hold responsible for military results is not agreed. Yet I do believe that you, of all men, can best perform the part of advancing the new State government of Louisiana, and therefore I have wished you to go and try, leaving it to yourself to give up the trial at the end of a month if you find it impracticable, or personally too disagreeable.

This is certainly meant in no unkindness, but I wish to avoid further struggle about it.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

City Point, Virginia,
April 5, 1865. 7.30 p. m.

Major-General N. P. Banks, New York:

Yours of to-day just received. I have been so much occupied with other thoughts that I really have no directions to give you. You may go at once, and you and I will correspond when desired by either.

A. Lincoln, President.

Barney, Hiram.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 16, 1862.

Hon. Hiram Barney, New York:

Mrs. L. has $1,000 for the benefit of the hospitals, and she will be obliged, and send the pay if you will be so good as to select and send her $200 worth of good lemons and $100 worth of good oranges.

A. Lincoln.

Bates, Edward.

On December 18, 1860, President-elect Lincoln wrote to Edward Bates of Missouri, authorizing him to announce in the *Missouri Democrat* that a place in the cabinet would be offered Mr. Bates, the department to which he would be assigned not yet having been decided upon.

On February 5, 1861, the President-elect invited Mr. Bates to accompany him to Washington on his way to be inaugurated.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 29, 1862.

Hon. Attorney-General.

My dear Sir: Few things perplex me more than this question between Governor Gamble and the War Department, as to whether the peculiar force organized by the former in Missouri are State troops or United States troops. Now, this is either an immaterial or a mischievous question. First, if no more is desired than to have it settled what name the force is to be called by, it is immaterial. Secondly, if it is desired for more than the fixing a name, it can only be to get a position from which to draw practical inferences; then it is mischievous. Instead of settling one dispute by deciding the question, I should merely furnish a nestful of eggs for hatching new disputes. I believe the force is not strictly either "State troops" or "United States troops." It is of mixed character. I therefore think it is safer, when a practical question arises, to decide that question directly, and not indirectly by deciding a general abstraction supposed to include it, and also including a great deal more. Without dispute Governor Gamble appoints the officers of this force, and fills vacancies when they occur. The question now practically in dispute is: Can Governor Gamble make a vacancy by removing an officer or accepting a resignation? Now, while it is proper that this question shall be settled, I do not per-

ceive why either Governor Gamble or the government here should care which way it is settled. I am perplexed with it only because there seems to be pertinacity about it. It seems to me that it might be either way without injury to the service; or that the offer of the Secretary of War to let Governor Gamble make vacancies, and he (the Secretary) to ratify the making of them, ought to be satisfactory.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

BAYLES, JESSE.

June 29, 1861.

Gentlemen of the Kentucky Delegation who are for the Union:

I somewhat wish to authorize my friend, Jesse Bayles, to raise a Kentucky regiment, but I do not wish to do it without your consent. If you consent, please write so at the bottom of this.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

We consent.

R. Mallory,
H. Grider,
G. W. Dunlap,
J. S. Jackson,
C. A. Wickliffe.

August 5, 1861.

I repeat, I would like for Col. Bayles to raise a regiment of cavalry whenever the Union men of Kentucky desire or consent to it.

A. Lincoln.

BEDELL, MISS GRACE.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Illinois, October 19, 1860.

Miss Grace Bedell:

My dear little Miss: Your very agreeable letter of the 15th is received. I regret the necessity of saying I have no daughter. I have three sons—one seventeen, one nine, and one seven years of age. They, with their mother, constitute my whole family. As to the whiskers, having never worn any, do you not think people would call it a piece of silly affectation if I were to begin it now?

Your very sincere well-wisher,

A. Lincoln.

BEECHER, HENRY WARD.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 27, 1865.

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 4th and the 21st reached me together only two days ago.

I now thank you for both. Since you wrote the former the whole matter of the negotiation, if it can be so called, has been published, and you doubtless have seen it. When you were with me on the evening of the 1st, I had no thought of going in person to meet the Richmond gentlemen.*

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

* The Confederate Peace Commissioners.

BELMONT, AUGUST.

July 31, 1862.

Dear Sir: You send to Mr. W—— an extract from a letter written at New Orleans the 9th instant, which is shown to me. You do not give the writer's name; but plainly he is a man of ability, and probably of some note. He says: "The time has arrived when Mr. Lincoln must take a decisive course. Trying to please everybody, he will satisfy nobody. A vacillating policy in matters of importance is the very worst. Now is the time, if ever, for honest men who love their country to rally to its support. Why will not the North say officially that it wishes for the restoration of the Union as it was?"

And so, it seems, this is the point on which the writer thinks I have no policy. Why will he not read and understand what I have said?

The substance of the very declaration he desires is in the inaugural, in each of the two regular messages to Congress, and in many, if not all, the minor documents issued by the Executive since the inauguration.

Broken eggs cannot be mended; but Louisiana has nothing to do now but to take her place in the Union as it was, barring the already broken eggs. The sooner she does so, the smaller will be the amount of that which will be past mending. This government cannot much longer play a game in which it stakes all, and its enemies stake nothing. Those enemies must understand that they cannot experiment for ten years trying to destroy the government, and if they fail still come back into the Union unhurt. If they expect in any contingency to ever have the

Union as it was, I join with the writer in saying, "Now is the time."

How much better it would have been for the writer to have gone at this, under the protection of the army at New Orleans, than to have sat down in a closet writing complaining letters northward!

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Bennett, John.

On August 5, 1837, Lincoln wrote from Springfield to John Bennett of Menard County, Illinois, in reference to legislative matters of interest to that locality. Incidentally he asked about the chances of a candidate, "our friend, Dr. Henry," in "your diggings."

Springfield, March 7, 1843.

Friend Bennett:

Your letter of this day was handed me by Mr. Miles— It is too late now to effect the object you desire—On yesterday morning the most of the whig members from this District got together and agreed to hold the convention at Tremont in Tazewell County—I am sorry to hear that any of the whigs of your County, or indeed of any County, should longer be against conventions.—On last Wednesday evening a meeting of all the whigs then here from all parts of the state was held, and the question of the propriety of conventions was brought up and fully discussed, and at the end of the discussion a resolution recommending the system of conventions to all the whigs of the state was unanimously adopted—Other resolutions were also passed, all

of which will appear in the next Journal. The meeting also appointed a committee to draft an address to the people of the state, which address will also appear in the next Journal.

In it you will find a brief argument in favor of conventions—and although I wrote it myself I will say to you that it is conclusive upon the point and can not be reasonably answered. The right way for you to do is hold your meeting and appoint delegates any how, and if there be any who will not take part, let it be so.—The matter will work so well this time that even they who now oppose will come in next time.

The convention is to be held at Tremont on the 5th of April and according to the rule we have adopted your County is to have delegates —being double the number of your representation—

If there be any good whig who is disposed to stick out against conventions get him at least to read the argument in their favor in the address.

Yours as ever.
(No Signature.)

On January 15, 1846, Lincoln wrote to Bennett from Springfield for information as to how Menard County was going in the contest between himself and Mr. Hardin for the Congressional nomination. He asked about the inclination of one man in particular, Morris. Lincoln requested Bennett to "write instantly, telling me all—particularly the names of those who are going strong against me."

On January 16, 1846, Lincoln sent to Bennett by a friend a batch of letters, presumably addressed to "those who were going against him," for Bennett to drop in the post-office, or hand to the addresses in person.

Springfield, Aug. 4, 1856.

John Bennett, Esq.

Dear Sir: I understand you are a Fillmore man—If, as between Frémont and Buchanan you really prefer the election of Buchanan, then burn this without reading a line further— But if you would like to defeat Buchanan and his gang, allow me a word with you— Does any one pretend that Fillmore can carry the vote of this State? I have not heard a single man pretend so—Every vote taken from Frémont and given to Fillmore is just so much in favor of Buchanan. The Buchanan men see this; and hence their great anxiety in favor of the Fillmore movement—They know where the shoe pinches—They now greatly prefer having a man of your character go for Fillmore than for Buchanan because they expect several to go with you, who would go for Frémont, if you were to go directly for Buchanan.

I think I now understand the relative strength of the three parties in this state as well as any one man does and my opinion is that to-day Buchanan has alone 85,000—Frémont 78,000 and Fillmore 21,000. This gives B. the state by 7,000 and leaves him in the minority of the whole 14,000.

Frémont and Fillmore men being united on Bissell as they already are, he can not be beaten —This is not a long letter, but it contains the whole story.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

BENNETT, JAMES GORDON.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 20, 1865.

James G. Bennett, Esq.

Dear Sir: I propose, at some convenient and not distant day, to nominate you to the United States Senate as Minister to France.

Your obedient servant,
A. Lincoln.

BERDAN, JAMES.

Springfield, April 26, 1846.

Jas. Berdan, Esq., Jacksonville, Ill.

Dear Sir: I thank you for the promptness with which you answered my letter from Bloomington. I also thank you for the frankness with which you comment upon a certain part of my letter; because that comment affords me an opportunity of trying to express myself better than I did before, seeing, as I do, that in that part of my letter, you have not understood me as I intended to be understood. In speaking of the *"dissatisfaction"* of men who yet mean to do no wrong, &c., I meant no special application of what I said to the Whigs of Morgan, or of Morgan & Scott. I only had in my mind the fact, that previous to General Hardin's withdrawal some of his friends and some of mine had become a little warm; and I felt, and meant to say, that for them now to meet face to face and converse together was the best way to efface any remnant of unpleasant feeling, if any such existed. I did not suppose that General Hardin's friends were in any greater need of having

their feelings corrected than mine were. Since I saw you at Jacksonville, I have had no more suspicion of the Whigs of Morgan than of those of any other part of the District. I write this only to try to remove any impression that I distrust you and the other Whigs of your county.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

On May 7, 1846, Lincoln wrote from Springfield to James Berdan of Jacksonville, Illinois, of his intention to make a speech there on the fourth Monday of the month, the time of holding court. "It is a matter of high moral obligation, if not of necessity, for me to attend the Coles and Edwards [*county*] courts. I have some cases in both of them, in which the parties have my promise, and are depending upon me. I mention [*this*] in order that if I should not reach Jacksonville at the time named you may know the reason why. I do not, however, think there is much danger of my being detained; as I shall go with a purpose not to be, and consequently shall engage in no new cases that might delay me."

BIRCHARD, M., AND OTHERS.

Washington, D. C., June 29, 1863.

Messrs. M. Birchard, David A. Houk, George Bliss, T. W. Bartley, W. J. Gordon, John O'Neill, C. A. White, W. E. Finck, Alexander Long, J. W. White, George H. Pendleton, George L. Converse, Warren P. Noble, James R. Morris, W. A. Hutchins, Abner L. Backus, J. F. McKinney, F. C. Le Blond, Louis Schaefer.

Gentlemen: The resolutions of the Ohio Democratic State Convention, which you present me, together with your introductory and closing remarks, being in position and argument mainly

the same as the resolutions of the Democratic meeting at Albany, New York, I refer you to my response to the latter as meeting most of the points in the former.

This response you evidently used in preparing your remarks, and I desire no more than that it be used with accuracy. In a single reading of your remarks, I only discovered one inaccuracy in matter which I suppose you took from that paper. It is where you say: "The undersigned are unable to agree with you in the opinion you have expressed that the Constitution is different in time of insurrection or invasion from what it is in time of peace and public security."

A recurrence to the paper will show you that I have not expressed the opinion you suppose. I expressed the opinion that the Constitution is different in its application in cases of rebellion or invasion, involving the public safety, from what it is in times of profound peace and public security; and this opinion I adhere to, simply because, by the Constitution itself, things may be done in the one case which may not be done in the other.

I dislike to waste a word on a merely personal point, but I must respectfully assure you that you will find yourselves at fault should you ever seek for evidence to prove your assumption that I "opposed, in discussions before the people, the policy of the Mexican war."

You say: "Expunge from the Constitution this limitation upon the power of Congress to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* and yet the other guarantees of personal liberty would remain unchanged." Doubtless, if this clause of the Con-

stitution, improperly called, as I think, a limitation upon the power of Congress, were expunged, the other guarantees would remain the same; but the question is not how those guarantees would stand with that clause out of the Constitution, but how they stand with that clause remaining in it, in case of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety. If the liberty could be indulged of expunging that clause, letter and spirit, I really think the constitutional argument would be with you.

My general view on this question was stated in the Albany response, and hence I do not state it now. I only add that, as seems to me, the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* is the great means through which the guarantees of personal liberty are conserved and made available in the last resort; and corroborative of this view is the fact that Mr. Vallandigham, in the very case in question, under the advice of able lawyers, saw not where else to go but to the *habeas corpus*. But by the Constitution the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* itself may be suspended when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

You ask, in substance, whether I really claim that I may override all the guaranteed rights of individuals, on the plea of conserving the public safety—when I may choose to say the public safety requires it. This question, divested of the phraseology calculated to represent me as struggling for an arbitrary personal prerogative, is either simply a question who shall decide, or an affirmation that nobody shall decide, what the public safety does require in cases of rebellion or invasion.

The Constitution contemplates the question as likely to occur for decision, but it does not expressly declare who is to decide it. By necessary implication, when rebellion or invasion comes, the decision is to be made from time to time; and I think the man whom, for the time, the people have, under the Constitution, made the commander-in-chief of their army and navy, is the man who holds the power and bears the responsibility of making it. If he uses the power justly, the same people will probably justify him; if he abuses it, he is in their hands to be dealt with by all the modes they have reserved to themselves in the Constitution.

The earnestness with which you insist that persons can only, in times of rebellion, be lawfully dealt with in accordance with the rules for criminal trials and punishments in times of peace, induces me to add a word to what I said on that point in the Albany response.

You claim that men may, if they choose, embarrass those whose duty it is to combat a giant rebellion, and then be dealt with in turn, only as if there were no rebellion. The Constitution itself rejects this view. The military arrests and detentions which have been made, including those of Mr. Vallandigham, which are not different in principle from the others, have been for prevention, and not for punishment—as injunctions to stay injury, as proceedings to keep the peace; and hence, like proceedings in such cases and for like reasons, they have not been accompanied with indictments, or trials by juries, nor in a single case by any punishment whatever, beyond what is purely incidental to the prevention. The original sentence of imprisonment in Mr. Val-

landigham's case was to prevent injury to the military service only, and the modification of it was made as a less disagreeable mode to him of securing the same prevention.

I am unable to perceive an insult to Ohio in the case of Mr. Vallandigham. Quite surely nothing of the sort was or is intended. I was wholly unaware that Mr. Vallandigham was, at the time of his arrest, a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor until so informed by your reading to me the resolutions of the convention. I am grateful to the State of Ohio for many things, especially for the brave soldiers and officers she has given in the present national trial to the armies of the Union.

You claim, as I understand, that according to my own position in the Albany response, Mr. Vallandigham should be released; and this because, as you claim, he has not damaged the military service by discouraging enlistments, encouraging desertions, or otherwise; and that if he had, he should have been turned over to the civil authorities under the recent acts of Congress. I certainly do not know that Mr. Vallandigham has specifically and by direct language advised against enlistments and in favor of desertion and resistance to drafting.

We all know that combinations, armed in some instances, to resist the arrest of deserters began several months ago; that more recently the like has appeared in resistance to the enrolment preparatory to a draft; and that quite a number of assassinations have occurred from the same animus. These had to be met by military force, and this again has led to bloodshed and death. And now, under a sense of responsibility more weighty

and enduring than any which is merely official, I solemnly declare my belief that this hindrance of the military, including maiming and murder, is due to the course in which Mr. Vallandigham has been engaged in a greater degree than to any other cause; and it is due to him personally in a greater degree than to any other one man.

These things have been notorious, known to all, and of course known to Mr. Vallandigham. Perhaps I would not be wrong to say they originated with his special friends and adherents. With perfect knowledge of them, he has frequently if not constantly made speeches in Congress and before popular assemblies; and if it can be shown that, with these things staring him in the face, he has ever uttered a word of rebuke or counsel against them, it will be a fact greatly in his favor with me, and one of which as yet I am totally ignorant. When it is known that the whole burden of his speeches has been to stir up men against the prosecution of the war, and that in the midst of resistance to it he has not been known in any instance to counsel against such resistance, it is next to impossible to repel the inference that he has counseled directly in favor of it.

With all this before their eyes, the convention you represent have nominated Mr. Vallandigham for governor of Ohio, and both they and you have declared the purpose to sustain the National Union by all constitutional means. But of course they and you in common reserve to yourselves to decide what are constitutional means; and, unlike the Albany meeting, you omit to state or intimate that in your opinion an army

is a constitutional means of saving the Union against a rebellion, or even to intimate that you are conscious of an existing rebellion being in progress with the avowed object of destroying that very Union. At the same time your nominee for governor, in whose behalf you appeal, is known to you and to the world to declare against the use of an army to suppress the rebellion. Your own attitude, therefore, encourages desertion, resistance to the draft, and the like, because it teaches those who incline to desert and to escape the draft to believe it is your purpose to protect them, and to hope that you will become strong enough to do so.

After a short personal intercourse with you, gentlemen of the committee, I cannot say I think you desire this effect to follow your attitude; but I assure you that both friends and enemies of the Union look upon it in this light. It is a substantial hope, and by consequence a real strength to the enemy. If it is a false hope and one which you would willingly dispel, I will make the way exceedingly easy.

I send you duplicates of this letter in order that you, or a majority of you, may, if you choose, indorse your names upon one of them and return it thus indorsed to me with the understanding that those signing are thereby committed to the following propositions and to nothing else:

1. That there is now a rebellion in the United States, the object and tendency of which is to destroy the National Union; and that, in your opinion, an army and navy are constitutional means for suppressing that rebellion;

2. That no one of you will do anything which,

in his own judgment, will tend to hinder the increase, or favor the decrease, or lessen the efficiency of the army or navy while engaged in the effort to suppress that rebellion; and

3. That each of you will, in his sphere, do all he can to have the officers, soldiers, and seamen of the army and navy, while engaged in the effort to suppress the rebellion, paid, fed, clad, and otherwise well provided for and supported.

And with the further understanding that upon receiving the letter and names thus indorsed, I will cause them to be published, which publication shall be, within itself, a revocation of the order in relation to Mr. Vallandigham.

It will not escape observation that I consent to the release of Mr. Vallandigham upon terms not embracing any pledge from him or from others as to what he will or will not do. I do this because he is not present to speak for himself, or to authorize others to speak for him; and because I should expect that on his returning he would not put himself practically in antagonism with the position of his friends. But I do it chiefly because I thereby prevail on other influential gentlemen of Ohio to so define their position as to be of immense value to the army —thus more than compensating for the consequences of any mistake in allowing Mr. Vallandigham to return; so that, on the whole, the public safety will not have suffered by it. Still, in regard to Mr. Vallandigham and all others, I must hereafter, as heretofore, do so much as the public safety may seem to require.

I have the honor to be respectfully yours, etc.,

A. Lincoln.

BIXBY, MRS.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 21, 1864.

Mrs. Bixby, Boston, Massachusetts.

Dear Madam: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,
Abraham Lincoln.

BLAIR, FRANK P., JR.

Washington, D. C., May 18, 1861.

Hon. F. P. Blair:

My dear Sir: We have a good deal of anxiety here about St. Louis. I understand an order has gone from the War Department to you, to be delivered or withheld in your discretion, relieving General Harney from his command. I was not quite satisfied with the order when it was made, though on the whole I thought it best to make it; but since then I have become

more doubtful of its propriety. I do not write now to countermand it, but to say I wish you would withhold it, unless in your judgment the necessity to the contrary is very urgent. There are several reasons for this. We had better have him a friend than an enemy. It will dissatisfy a good many who otherwise would be quiet. More than all, we first relieve him, then restore him, and now if we relieve him again the public will ask, "Why all this vacillation?" Still, if in your judgment it is indispensable, let it be so. Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 17, 1862.

Hon. F. P. Blair.

Your brother says you are solicitous to be ordered to join General McClernand. I suppose you are ordered to Helena; this means that you are to form part of McClernand's expedition as it moves down the river; and General McClernand is so informed. I will see General Halleck as to whether the additional force you mention can go with you.

A. Lincoln.

[See also BLAIR, MONTGOMERY, Nov. 2, 1863; SCHENCK, ROBERT C., April 28, 1864.]

BLAIR, FRANK P., SR.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 30, 1863.

Hon. F. P. Blair.

My dear Sir: Yours of to-day, with inclosure,

is received. Yesterday I commenced trying to get up an expedition for Texas.

I shall do the best I can. Meantime I would like to know who is the great man Alexander, that talks so oracularly about "if the President keeps his word" and Banks not having "capacity to run an omnibus on Broadway"? How has this Alexander's immense light been obscured hitherto?

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Pass.*]

Allow the bearer, F. P. Blair, Sr., to pass our lines, go South, and return.

A. Lincoln.

December 28, 1864.

Washington, January 18, 1865.

F. P. Blair, Esq.

Sir: You having shown me Mr. [*Jefferson*] Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue, ready to receive any agent whom he or any other influential person now resisting the national authority may informally send to me with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country.

Yours, etc.,

A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

January 28, 1865.

To-day Mr. Blair tells me that on the 21st instant he delivered to Mr. Davis the original

of which the within is a copy, and left it with him; that at the time of delivering it Mr. Davis read it over twice in Mr. Blair's presence, at the close of which he (Mr. Blair) remarked that the part about "our one common country" related to the part of Mr. Davis's letter about "the two countries," to which Mr. Davis replied that he so understood it.

A. Lincoln.

BLAIR, MONTGOMERY.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 24, 1863.

Hon. Postmaster-General.

Sir: Yesterday little indorsements of mine went to you in two cases of postmasterships sought for widows whose husbands have fallen in the battles of this war. These cases occurring on the same day brought me to reflect more attentively than I had before done, as to what is fairly due from us here in the dispensing of patronage toward the men who, by fighting our battles, bear the chief burden of saving our country. My conclusion is that, other claims and qualifications being equal, they have the better right; and this is especially applicable to the disabled soldier and the deceased soldier's family.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 2, 1863.

Hon. Montgomery Blair.

My dear Sir: Some days ago I understood you to say that your brother, General Frank

Blair, desires to be guided by my wishes as to whether he will occupy his seat in Congress or remain in the field. My wish, then, is compounded of what I believe will be best for the country and best for him, and it is that he will come here, put his military commission in my hands, take his seat, go into caucus with our friends, abide the nominations, help elect the nominees, and thus aid to organize a House of Representatives which will really support the government in the war. If the result shall be the election of himself as Speaker, let him serve in that position; if not, let him retake his commission and return to the army. For the country this will heal a dangerous schism; for him it will relieve from a dangerous position. By a misunderstanding, as I think, he is in danger of being permanently separated from those with whom only he can ever have a real sympathy—the sincere opponents of slavery. It will be a mistake if he shall allow the provocations offered him by insincere time-servers to drive him out of the house of his own building. He is young yet. He has abundant talent—quite enough to occupy all his time without devoting any to temper. He is rising in military skill and usefulness. His recent appointment to the command of a corps by one so competent to judge as General Sherman proves this. In that line he can serve both the country and himself more profitably than he could as a member of Congress on the floor. The foregoing is what I would say if Frank Blair were my brother instead of yours.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 23, 1864.

Hon. Montgomery Blair.

My dear Sir: You have generously said to me more than once that whenever your resignation could be a relief to me it was at my disposal. The time has come. You very well know that this proceeds from no dissatisfaction of mine with you personally or officially. Your uniform kindness has been unsurpassed by that of any friend; and while it is true that the war does not so greatly add to the difficulties of your department as to those of some others, it is yet much to say, as I most truly can, that in the three years and a half during which you have administered the general post-office, I remember no single complaint against you in connection therewith.

Yours,

A. Lincoln.

Bliss, William S.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 16, 1863.

Col. William S. Bliss, New York Hotel:

Your despatch asking whether I will accept "the Loyal Brigade of the North" is received. I never heard of that brigade by name and do not know where it is, yet presuming it is in New York, I say I will gladly accept it, if tendered by and with the consent and approbation of the Governor of that State. Otherwise not.

A. Lincoln.

BLOW, H. T., AND OTHERS.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, May 15, 1863.

Hon. H. T. Blow, C. D. Drake, and Others, St. Louis, Missouri:

Your despatch of to-day is just received. It is very plainful to me that you in Missouri cannot or will not settle your factional quarrel among yourselves. I have been tormented with it beyond endurance for months by both sides. Neither side pays the least respect to my appeals to your reason. I am now compelled to take hold of the case. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
Washington, July 13, 1863.

Hon. H. T. Blow, St. Louis, Mo.:

I saw your despatch to the Secretary of War. The publication of a letter without the leave of the writer or the receiver I think cannot be justified, but in this case I do not think it of sufficient consequence to justify an arrest; and again, the arrest being, through a parole, merely nominal, does not deserve the importance sought to be attached to it. Cannot this small matter be dropped on both sides without further difficulty? A. Lincoln.

BLUNT, J. G.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 18, 1863.

Major-General Blunt:

Yours of July 31st is received. Governor

Carney did leave some papers with me concerning you; but they made no great impression upon me, and I believe they are not altogether such as you seem to think. As I am not proposing to act upon them, I do not now take the time to reëxamine them.

I regret to find you denouncing so many persons as liars, scoundrels, fools, thieves, and persecutors of yourself. Your military position looks critical, but did anybody force you into it? Have you been ordered to confront and fight 10,000 men with 3000 men? The government cannot make men; and it is very easy, when a man has been given the highest commission, for him to turn on those who gave it and vilify them for not giving him a command according to his rank.

My appointment of you first as a brigadier, and then as a major-general, was evidence of my appreciation of your services; and I have since marked but one thing in connection with you with which to be dissatisfied. The sending a military order twenty-five miles outside of your lines, and all military lines, to take men charged with no offense against the military, out of the hands of the courts, to be turned over to a mob to be hanged, can find no precedent or principle to justify it. Judge Lynch sometimes takes jurisdiction of cases which prove too strong for the courts; but this is the first case within my knowledge wherein the court being able to maintain jurisdiction against Judge Lynch, the military has come to the assistance of the latter. I take the facts of this case as you state them yourself, and not from any report of Governor Carney, or other person. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Boal, Robert.

Springfield, January 7, 1846.

Dear Doctor: Since I saw you last fall, I have often thought of writing you, as it was then understood I would, but, on reflection, I have always found that I had nothing new to tell you. All has happened as I then told you I expected it would—Baker's declining, Hardin's taking the track, and so on.

If Hardin and I stood precisely equal, if *neither* of us had been to Congress, or, if we *both* had—it would not only accord with what I have always done, for the sake of peace, to give way to him; and I expect I should do it. That *I* can voluntarily postpone my pretensions, when they are no more than equal to those to which they are postponed, you have yourself seen. But to yield to Hardin under present circumstances, seems to me as nothing else than yielding to one who would gladly sacrifice me altogether. This, I would rather not submit to. That Hardin is talented, energetic, usually generous and magnanimous, I have, before this, affirmed to you, and do not now deny. You know that my only argument is that "turn about is fair play." This he practically, at least, denies.

If it would not be taxing you too much, I wish you would write me, telling the aspect of things in your county, or rather your district; and also, send the names of some of your Whig neighbors, to whom I might, with propriety, write. Unless I can get some one to do this, Hardin, with his old franking list, will have the advantage of me. My reliance for a fair shake (and I want nothing more) in your county is

chiefly on you, because of your position and standing, and because I am acquainted with so few others. Let me hear from you soon.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

To Dr. Robert Boal, Lacon, Ill.:

On December 25, 1856, Lincoln wrote Dr. Boal from Springfield concerning the Doctor's aspirations for Speakership of the Illinois Legislature. He suggests that he see Arnold [*I. N.*], of Chicago, whom Lincoln had recently met and who, he thought, had aspirations for the office, but "was not anxious about it." "Go right up and see Arnold," Lincoln said. "He is talented, a practised debater, and, I think, would do himself more credit on the floor than in the Speaker's seat. . . If you think fit, show him this letter.

Your friend, as ever,

(No Signature.)

Boker, G. H.

Executive Mansion,

October, 26, 1863.

George H. Boker, Esq., Secretary.

My dear Sir: It is with heartfelt gratification that I acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 6th, and the accompanying medal, by which I am made an honorary member of the Union League of Philadelphia.

I shall always bear with me the consciousness of having endeavored to do my duty in the trying times through which we are passing, and the generous approval of a portion of my fellow-citizens so intelligent and so patriotic as those composing your association assures me that I have not wholly failed.

I could not ask, and no one could merit, a better reward.

Be kind enough, sir, to convey to the gentlemen whom you represent, the assurance of the grateful appreciation with which I accept the honor you have conferred upon me.

I am very truly your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Boyle, J. T.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, July 13, 1862.

General J. T. Boyle, Louisville, Kentucky:

We cannot venture to order troops from General Buell. We know not what condition he is in. He may be attacked himself. You must call on General Halleck, who commands, and whose business it is to understand and care for the whole field. If you cannot telegraph to him, send a messenger to him. A despatch has this moment come from Halleck at Tuscumbia, Alabama.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, September 12, 1862.

Major-General Boyle, Louisville, Kentucky:

Your despatch of last evening received. Where is the enemy which you dread in Louisville? How near to you? What is General Gilbert's opinion? With all possible respect for you, I must think General Wright's military opinion is the better. He is as much responsible for Louisville as for Cincinnati. General Halleck telegraphed him on this very subject yesterday, and I telegraph him now; but for us here to control him there on the ground would be a babel of confusion which

would be utterly ruinous. Where do you understand Buell to be, and what is he doing?

A. Lincoln.

On February 1, 1863, President Lincoln wrote to General Boyle enclosing his endorsement of Senator Powell's request that moneys collected from citizens in certain Kentucky counties be refunded them. Of this collection the President says: "This course of procedure, though just and politic in some cases, is so liable to gross abuse as to do great injustice in some others, and give the government immense trouble."

Bouligny, J. E.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, April 14, 1863.

Hon. J. E. Bouligny.

My dear Sir: I did not certainly know the object of your call yesterday, but I had a strong impression in regard to it. When our national troubles began, you and I were not personally acquainted, but all I heard of you placed you in my estimation foremost among Louisianians as a friend of the Union. I intended to find you a position, and I did not conceal my inclination to do so. When, last autumn, you bore a letter from me to some parties at New Orleans, you seemed to expect, and consequently I did expect, you would return here as a member of one or the other branch of Congress. But you were not so returned, and this negative evidence, with other of like character, brings me to think that the Union people there for some reason prefer others for the places there. Add to this that the head of the department here in which finding a place for you was contemplated, is not satisfied for the appointment to be made, and it presents,

as you see, an embarrassing case for me. My personal feelings for Mr. Bouligny are not less kind than heretofore.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

BRADFORD, A. W.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 2, 1863.

His Excellency A. W. Bradford, Governor of Maryland.

Sir: Yours of the 31st ult. was received yesterday about noon, and since then I have been giving most earnest attention to the subject-matter of it. At my call General Schenck has attended, and he assures me it is almost certain that violence will be used at some of the voting places on election day unless prevented by his provost-guards. He says that at some of those places Union voters will not attend at all, or run a ticket, unless they have some assurance of protection. This makes the Missouri case, of my action in regard to which you express your approval.

The remaining point of your letter is a protest against any person offering to vote being put to any test not found in the laws of Maryland. This brings us to a difference between Missouri and Maryland. With the same reason in both States, Missouri has, by law, provided a test for the voter with reference to the present rebellion, while Maryland has not. For example, General Trimble, captured fighting us at Gettysburg, is, without recanting his treason, a legal voter by the laws of Maryland. Even General Schenck's

order admits him to vote, if he recants upon oath. I think that is cheap enough. My order in Missouri, which you approve, and General Schenck's order here, reach precisely the same end. Each assures the right of voting to all loyal men, and whether a man is loyal, each allows that man to fix by his own oath. Your suggestion that nearly all the candidates are loyal, I do not think quite meets the case. In this struggle for the nation's life, I cannot so confidently rely on those whose elections may have depended upon disloyal votes. Such men, when elected, may prove true; but such votes are given them in the expectation that they will prove false.

Nor do I think that to keep the peace at the polls, and to prevent the persistently disloyal from voting, constitutes just cause of offense to Maryland. I think she has her own example for it. If I mistake not, it is precisely what General Dix did when your Excellency was elected governor.

I revoke the first of the three propositions in General Schenck's General Order No. 53; not that it is wrong in principle, but because the military, being of necessity exclusive judges as to who shall be arrested, the provision is too liable to abuse. For the revoked part I substitute the following:

> That all provost-marshals and other military officers do prevent all disturbance and violence at or about the polls, whether offered by such persons as above described, or by any other person or person whomsoever.

The other two propositions of the order I allow to stand. General Schenck is fully determined,

and has my strict orders besides, that all loyal men may vote, and vote for whom they please.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Bramlette, Thomas E.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, January 6, 1864. 2 p. m.

Governor Bramlette, Frankfort, Kentucky:

Yours of yesterday received. Nothing is known here about General Foster's order, of which you complain, beyond the fair presumption that it comes from General Grant, and that it has an object which, if you understood, you would be loath to frustrate. True, these troops are, in strict law, only to be removed by my order; but General Grant's judgment would be the highest incentive to me to make such order. Nor can I understand how doing so is bad faith and dishonor, nor yet how it so exposes Kentucky to ruin. Military men here do not perceive how it exposes Kentucky, and I am sure Grant would not permit it if it so appeared to him.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

January 17, 1864.

Governor Bramlette, Frankfort, Kentucky:

Your letter of the eighth is just received. To your question, "May I not add *q. e. d.?*" I answer "No," because you omit the "premise" in the law, that the President may in his discretion send

these troops out of Kentucky; and I take it that if he shall do so, on the judgment of General Grant as to its propriety, it will be neither cruelty, bad faith, nor dishonor. When I telegraphed you I knew, though I did not say so to you, that General Grant was about that time with General Foster at Knoxville, and could not be ignorant of, or averse to, the order which alarmed you. I see he has since passed through Kentucky, and I hope you have had a conference with him.

A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., November 10, 1864.

Governor Bramlette, Frankfort, Kentucky:

Yours of yesterday received. I can scarcely believe that General John B. Houston has been arrested "for no other offense than opposition to my reëlection"; for, if that had been deemed sufficient cause of arrest, I should have heard of more than one arrest in Kentucky on election day. If, however, General Houston has been arrested for no other cause than opposition to my reëlection, General Burbridge will discharge him at once, I sending him a copy of this as an order to that effect.

A. Lincoln.

[See also BURBRIDGE, S. G., Nov. 10, 1864.]

On November 22, 1864, the President sent a telegram to Governor Bramlette informing him that "the Secretary of War and myself are trying to devise means of pacification and harmony for Kentucky, which we hope to effect soon, now that the passion-exciting subject of the election is past."

On February 5, 1865, the President telegraphed in answer to a query of Governor Bramlette concerning the Thirteenth Amendment: "Precedents justify the

legislature to act on *ex-officio* notice of Congress having passed the proposed amendment; nevertheless, I will send you the authenticated copy."

Brayman, M.

On October 3, 1853, Lincoln wrote from Pekin, Ill., to M. Brayman, saying that: "Neither the county of McLean nor any one on its behalf has yet made any engagement with me in relation to its suit with the Illinois Central Railroad on the subject of taxation. I am now free to make an engagement for the road, and if you think of it you may 'count me in.'"

Briggs, James A.

Danville, Illinois, November 13, 1859.

James A. Briggs, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 1st, closing with my proposition for compromise, was duly received. I will be on hand, and in due time will notify you of the exact day. I believe, after all, I shall make a political speech of it. You have no objection? I would like to know in advance whether I am also to speak or lecture in New York. Very, very glad your election went right.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Broadhead, J. O.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., July 15, 1863. 8 a. m.

J. O. Broadhead, St. Louis, Mo.:

The effect on political position of McKee's arrest will not be relieved any by its not having been made with that purpose.

A. Lincoln.

Brockman, J. M.

Springfield, Illinois, September 25, 1860.

J. M. Brockman, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 24th, asking "the best mode of obtaining a thorough knowledge of the law," is received. The mode is very simple, though laborious and tedious. It is only to get the books and read and study them carefully. Begin with Blackstone's "Commentaries," and after reading it carefully through, say twice, take up Chitty's "Pleadings," Greenleaf's "Evidence," and Story's "Equity," etc., in succession. Work, work, work, is the main thing.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Brown, B. Gratz.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., January 7, 1863. 5.30 p. m.

Hon. B. Gratz Brown, Jefferson City, Missouri:

Yours of to-day just received. The administration takes no part between its friends in Missouri, of whom I, at least, consider you one; and I have never before had an intimation that appointees there were interfering, or were inclined to interfere.

A. Lincoln.

Brown, George W.

[See Hicks, Thomas H., Apr. 20, 1861.]

Brown, J. N.

Lincoln compiled a little book of newspaper-clippings of portions of his speeches, to aid Captain Brown in the

campaign of 1858, Brown having requested something to refute the cry of "negro equality" brought against the Republicans. Lincoln also wrote: "The following extracts are taken from various speeches of mine delivered at various times and places; and I believe they contain the substance of all I have ever said about 'negro equality.' The first three are from my answer to Judge Douglas, October 16, 1854, at Peoria."

Springfield, October 18, 1858.

My dear Sir: I do not perceive how I can express myself, more plainly, than I have done in the foregoing extracts. In four of them I have expressly disclaimed all intentions to bring about social and political equality between the white and black races, and, in all the rest, I have done the same thing by clear implication.

I have made it equally plain that I think the negro is included in the "men" used in the Declaration of Independence.

I believe the declaration that "all men are created equal" is the great fundamental principle upon which our free institutions rest; that negro slavery is violative of that principle; but that, by our form of government, that principle has not been made one of legal obligation; that by our form of government, the States which have slavery are to retain it, or surrender it at their own pleasure; and that all others—individuals, free-states and national government—are constitutionally bound to leave them alone about it.

I believe our government was thus framed because of the *necessity* springing from the actual presence of slavery, when it was framed.

That such necessity does not exist in the territories, where slavery is not present.

In his Mendenhall speech Mr. Clay says:

"Now, as an abstract principle, there is no doubt of the truth of that declaration [*all men are created equal*] and it is desirable, in the original construction of society, and in organized societies, to keep it in view as a great fundamental principle."

Again, in the same speech Mr. Clay says:

"If a state of nature existed, and we were about to lay the foundation of society, no man would be more strongly opposed than I would to incorporate the institution of slavery among its elements."

Exactly so. In our new free territories, a state of nature *does* exist. In them Congress lays the foundations of society; and, in laying those foundations, I say, with Mr. Clay, it is desirable that the declaration of the equality of all men shall be kept in view, as a great fundamental principle; and that Congress, which lays the foundations of society, should, like Mr. Clay, be strongly opposed to the incorporation of slavery among its elements.

But it does not follow that social and political equality between white and black, *must* be incorporated, because slavery must *not*. The declaration does not so require.

Yours as ever,
A. Lincoln.

Brown, W. H.

[See Dole, George W.]

Browning, O. H.

Springfield, January 29, 1850.

Dear Browning: Yours of the 26th was received last night. As you anticipate, I had al-

ready recommended Judge Logan for District Judge, and more, I had already said all I could consistently with this, in favor of Judge Lockwood. I certainly esteem Mr. Bushnell as being every way worthy of such an office. In moral character, and legal attainments, he is entirely sound and sufficient. If you think this letter can be used to any advantage, you are at liberty to so use it. What I have to say, I say most cheerfully; and more I could not now say consistently.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, December 15, 1856.

Browning, O. H.

. . . It has been suggested by some of our friends that during the session of the legislature here this winter, the Republicans ought to get up a sort of party state address; and again it has been suggested that you could draw up such a thing as well if not better than any of us. Think about it.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 22, 1861.

Hon. O. H. Browning.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 17th is just received; and coming from you, I confess it astonishes me. That you should object to my adhering to a law which you had assisted in making and presenting to me less than a month before is odd enough. But this is a very small

part. General Frémont's proclamation as to confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves is purely political and not within the range of military law or necessity. If a commanding general finds a necessity to seize the farm of a private owner for a pasture, an encampment, or a fortification, he has the right to do so, and to so hold it as long as the necessity lasts; and this is within military law, because within military necessity. But to say the farm shall no longer belong to the owner, or his heirs forever, and this as well when the farm is not needed for military purposes as when it is, is purely political, without the savor of military law about it. And the same is true of slaves. If the general needs them, he can seize them and use them; but when the need is past, it is not for him to fix their permanent future condition. That must be settled according to laws made by law-makers, and not by military proclamations. The proclamation in the point in question is simply "dictatorship." It assumes that the general may do anything he pleases—confiscate the lands and free the slaves of loyal people, as well as of disloyal ones. And going the whole figure, I have no doubt, would be more popular with some thoughtless people than that which has been done! But I cannot assume this reckless position, nor allow others to assume it on my responsibility.

You speak of it as being the only means of saving the government. On the contrary, it is itself the surrender of the government. Can it be pretended that it is any longer the Government of the United States—any government of constitution and laws—wherein a general or a

president may make permanent rules of property by proclamation? I do not say Congress might not with propriety pass a law on the point, just such as General Frémont proclaimed. I do not say I might not, as a member of Congress, vote for it. What I object to is, that I, as President, shall expressly or impliedly seize and exercise the permanent legislative functions of the government.

So much as to principle. Now as to policy. No doubt the thing was popular in some quarters, and would have been more so if it had been a general declaration of emancipation. The Kentucky legislature would not budge till that proclamation was modified; and General Anderson telegraphed me that on the news of General Frémont having actually issued deeds of manumission, a whole company of our volunteers threw down their arms and disbanded. I was so assured as to think it probable that the very arms we had furnished Kentucky would be turned against us. I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we cannot hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this capital. On the contrary, if you will give up your restlessness for new positions, and back me manfully on the grounds upon which you and other kind friends gave me the election and have approved in my public documents, we shall go through triumphantly. You must understand I took my course on the proclamation because of Kentucky. I took the same ground in a private let-

ter to General Frémont before I heard from Kentucky.

You think I am inconsistent because I did not also forbid General Frémont to shoot men under the proclamation. I understand that part to be within military law, but I also think, and so privately wrote General Frémont, that it is impolitic in this, that our adversaries have the power, and will certainly exercise it, to shoot as many of our men as we shoot of theirs. I do not say this in the public letter, because it is a subject I prefer not to discuss in the hearing of our enemies.

There has been no thought of removing General Frémont on any ground connected with his proclamation, and if there has been any wish for his removal on any ground, our mutual friend Sam. Glover can probably tell you what it was. I hope no real necessity for it exists on any ground.

Your friend as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Browning, Mrs. O. H.

On April 1, 1838, Lincoln wrote a letter to Mrs. Browning more appropriate to the day than creditable to the writer. Of this, Nicolay and Hay say:

"This letter has been published and severely criticised as showing a lack of gentlemanlike feeling. But those who take this view forget that he was writing to an intimate friend . . . that he mentioned no names, and that he threw such an air of humorous [*sic*] unreality about the whole story that the person who received it never dreamed that it recorded an actual occurrence until twenty-five years afterwards, when, having been asked to furnish it to a biographer, she was warned against doing so by the President himself, who said there was too much truth in it to print."

The President's wishes should have been respected, and, notwithstanding the fact that the letter has been published in all the collected editions of his works, and in some of his biographies, they shall be respected here, by the suppression of Lincoln's coarse description of the mental, moral, and physical characteristics of the young lady of whom he writes as having refused his proposal of marriage. The letter in its entirety forms a most valuable human document in the light it throws upon an early stage of Lincoln's development, but ethics should overrule science in this instance. All that is unquestionably true in Lincoln's narrative, and, since the banter of the sister is self-evident, nothing that is derogatory to any other person than the writer, will be found in the following abridgment.

Springfield, April 1, 1838.

Dear Madam: Without apologizing for being egotistical, I shall make the history of so much of my life as has elapsed since I saw you the subject of this letter. And, by the way, I now discover that in order to give a full and intelligible account of the things I have done and suffered since I saw you, I shall necessarily have to relate some that happened before.

It was, then, in the autumn of 1836 that a married lady of my acquaintance, and who was a great friend of mine, being about to pay a visit to her father and other relatives residing in Kentucky, proposed to me that on her return she would bring a sister of hers with her on condition that I would engage to become her brother-in-law with all convenient despatch. I, of course, accepted the proposal, for you know I could not have done otherwise had I really been averse to it; but privately, between you and me, I was most confoundedly well pleased with the project. I had seen the said sister some three years before, thought her intelligent and

agreeable, and saw no good objection to plodding life through hand in hand with her. Time passed on, the lady took her journey and in due time returned, sister in company, sure enough. . . . I . . . made the proposal to her direct; but, shocking to relate, she answered, No. . . . I tried it again and again, but with the same success, or rather with the same want of success.

I finally was forced to give it up, at which I very unexpectedly found myself mortified almost beyond endurance. I was mortified, it seemed to me, in a hundred different ways. My vanity was deeply wounded by the reflection that I had so long been too stupid to discover her intentions, and at the same time never doubting that I understood them perfectly; and that she . . . had actually rejected me with all my fancied greatness. . . . But let it all go! I'll try and outlive it. Others have been made fools of by the girls, but this can never with truth be said of me. I most emphatically, in this instance, made a fool of myself. I have now come to the conclusion never again to think of marrying, and for this reason—I can never be satisfied with any one who would be blockhead enough to have me.

When you receive this, write me a long yarn about something to amuse me. Give my respects to Mr. Browning.

Your sincere friend,

A. Lincoln.

BRYANT, J. H.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, May 30, 1864.

Hon. John H. Bryant.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 14th instant in-

closing a card of invitation to a preliminary meeting contemplating the erection of a monument to the memory of Hon. Owen Lovejoy was duly received. As you anticipate, it will be out of my power to attend. Many of you have known Mr. Lovejoy longer than I have, and are better able than I to do his memory complete justice. My personal acquaintance with him commenced only about ten years ago, since when it has been quite intimate, and every step in it has been one of increasing respect and esteem, ending, with his life, in no less than affection on my part. It can truly be said of him that while he was personally ambitious he bravely endured the obscurity which the unpopularity of his principles imposed, and never accepted official honors until those honors were ready to admit his principles with him. Throughout very heavy and perplexing responsibilities here to the day of his death, it would scarcely wrong any other to say he was my most generous friend.

Let him have the marble monument along with the well-assured and more enduring one in the hearts of those who love liberty unselfishly for all men.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Bryant, William Cullen.

Springfield, Illinois, June 28, 1860.

Mr. Wm. C. Bryant.

My dear Sir: Please accept my thanks for the honor done me by your letter of the 16th. I appreciate the danger against which you would

guard me, nor am I wanting in the purpose to avoid it. I thank you for the additional strength your words give me to maintain that purpose.

Your friend and servant,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, December 29, 1860.

Hon. William Cullen Bryant.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 25th is duly received. The "well-known politician" to whom I understand you to allude did write me, but did not press upon me any such compromise as you seem to suppose, or, in fact, any compromise at all.

As to the matter of the cabinet, mentioned by you, I can only say I shall have a great deal of trouble, do the best I can. I promise you that I shall unselfishly try to deal fairly with all men and all shades of opinion among our friends.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Washington, May 14, 1863.

Mr. W. C. Bryant.

My dear Sir: Yours, requesting that General Sigel may be again assigned to command, is received. Allow me to briefly explain. I kept General Sigel in command for several months, he requesting to resign or to be relieved. At length, at his urgent and repeated solicitation, he was relieved. Now it is inconvenient to assign him a command without relieving or depriving some other officer who is not asking and perhaps would object to being so disposed of.

This is one of a class of cases, and you perceive how embarrassing they are.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 27, 1864.

Hon. William Cullen Bryant:

My dear Sir: Yours of the twenty-fifth has just been handed me by the Secretary of the Navy. The tone of the letter, rather than any direct statement in it, impresses me as a complaint that Mr. Henderson should have been removed from office, and arrested; coupled with the single suggestion that he be restored if he shall establish his innocence.

I know absolutely nothing of the case except as follows: Monday last, Mr. Welles came to me with the letter of dismissal already written, saying he thought proper to show it to me before sending it. I asked him the charges, which he stated in a general way. With as much emphasis as I could, I said: "Are you entirely certain of his guilt?" He answered that he was, to which I replied: "Then send the letter."

Whether Mr. Henderson was a supporter of my second nomination, I neither knew nor inquired, nor even thought of. I shall be very glad indeed if he shall, as you anticipate, establish his innocence; or, to state it more strongly and properly, "if the government shall fail to establish his guilt." I believe, however, the man who made the affidavit was of as spotless reputation as Mr. Henderson, until he was arrested on what his friends insist was outrageously insufficient evidence. I know the entire city government

of Washington, with many other respectable citizens, appealed to me in his behalf as a greatly injured gentleman.

While the subject is up, may I ask whether the "Evening Post" has not assailed me for supposed too lenient dealing with persons charged with fraud and crime? And that in cases of which the "Post" could know but little of the facts? I shall certainly deal as leniently with Mr. Henderson as I have felt it my duty to deal with others, notwithstanding any newspaper assaults. Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Buckner, Simon B.

[*Memorandum.*]

It is my duty, as I conceive, to suppress an insurrection existing within the United States. I wish to do this with the least possible disturbance or annoyance to well-disposed people anywhere. So far I have not sent an armed force into Kentucky, nor have I any present purpose to do so. I sincerely desire that no necessity for it may be presented; but I mean to say nothing which shall hereafter embarrass me in the performance of what may seem to be my duty.

(Copy of this delivered to General Buckner, this 10th day of July, 1861.)

[See Cameron, Simon, Aug. 17, 1861.]

Buell, Don Carlos.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington City, January 1, 1862.

Brigadier-General Buell, Louisville:

General McClellan should not yet be disturbed

with business. I think you better get in concert with General Halleck at once. I write you to-night. I also telegraph and write Halleck.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 6, 1862.

Brigadier-General Buell.

My dear Sir: Your despatch of yesterday has been received, and it disappoints and distresses me. I have shown it to General McClellan, who says he will write you to-day. I am not competent to criticise your views, and therefore what I offer is in justification of myself. Of the two, I would rather have a point on the railroad south of Cumberland Gap than Nashville. First, because it cuts a great artery of the enemy's communication, which Nashville does not; and secondly, because it is in the midst of loyal people who would rally around it, while Nashville is not. Again, I cannot see why the movement in East Tennessee would not be a diversion in your favor rather than a disadvantage, assuming that a movement toward Nashville is the main object. But my distress is that our friends in East Tennessee are being hanged and driven to despair, and even now, I fear, are thinking of taking rebel arms for the sake of personal protection. In this we lose the most valuable stake we have in the South. My despatch, to which yours is an answer, was sent with the knowledge of Senator Johnson and Representative Maynard of East Tennessee, and they will be upon me to know the answer, which I cannot safely show them. They would despair, possibly resign to go and save their

families somehow, or die with them. I do not intend this to be an order in any sense, but merely, as intimated before, to show you the grounds of my anxiety.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

Washington, January 7, 1862.
Brigadier-General D. C. Buell, Louisville:

Please name as early a day as you safely can on or before which you can be ready to move southward in concert with Major-General Halleck. Delay is ruining us, and it is indispensable for me to have something definite. I send a like despatch to Major-General Halleck.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 13, 1862.
Brigadier-General Buell:

My dear Sir: Your despatch of yesterday is received, in which you say: "I have received your letter and General McClellan's, and will at once devote all my efforts to your views and his." In the midst of my many cares, I have not seen or asked to see General McClellan's letter to you. For my own views, I have not offered and do not now offer them as orders; and while I am glad to have them respectfully considered, I would blame you to follow them contrary to your own clear judgment, unless I should put them in the form of orders. As to General McClellan's views, you understand your duty in regard to them better than I do. With this preliminary, I state my general idea of this war to be that we have the greater numbers, and

the enemy has the greater facility of concentrating forces upon points of collision; that we must fail unless we can find some way of making our advantage an overmatch for his; and that this can only be done by menacing him with superior forces at different points at the same time, so that we can safely attack one or both if he makes no change; and if he weakens one to strengthen the other, forbear to attack the strengthened one, but seize and hold the weakened one, gaining so much. To illustrate: Suppose, last summer, when Winchester ran away to reinforce Manassas, we had forborne to attack Manassas, but had seized and held Winchester. I mention this to illustrate and not to criticise. I did not lose confidence in McDowell, and I think less harshly of Patterson than some others seem to. In application of the general rule I am suggesting, every particular case will have its modifying circumstances, among which the most constantly present and most difficult to meet will be the want of perfect knowledge of the enemy's movements. This had its part in the Bull Run case; but worse in that case was the expiration of the terms of the three months' men. Applying the principle to your case, my idea is that Halleck shall menace Columbus and "down river" generally, while you menace Bowling Green and East Tennessee. If the enemy shall concentrate at Bowling Green, do not retire from his front, yet do not fight him there either, but seize Columbus and East Tennessee, one or both, left exposed by the concentration at Bowling Green. It is a matter of no small anxiety to me, and one which I am sure you will not overlook, that

the East Tennessee line is so long and over so bad a road.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

January 13, 1862.

Having to-day written General Buell a letter, it occurs to me to send General Halleck a copy of it.

A. Lincoln.

War Department, March 8, 1862.

Major-General D. C. Buell, Louisville:

The President directs me to inform you that the act of Congress of July 13, 1861, prohibits commercial intercourse with States proclaimed to be in rebellion (which includes all south of Kentucky and Missouri), except under license of the President and under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. By the President's directions the secretary has lately made rules and regulations, copies of which are this day sent by mail. The President desires you to enforce no rules inconsistent with them, and if any such have been made, that you will rescind them. Please acknowledge receipt of this instruction.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[Same to General H. W. Halleck.]

Washington, March 10, 1862.

General D. C. Buell:

The evidence is very strong that the enemy in front of us here is breaking up and moving off.

General McClellan is after him. Some part of the force may be destined to meet you. Look out and be prepared. I telegraphed Halleck, asking him to assist you if needed.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, Washington,
September 8, 1862. 7.20 p. m.

General Buell:

What degree of certainty have you that Bragg, with his command, is not now in the valley of the Shenandoah, Virginia?

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, October 19, 1862. 1.33 P. M.

Major-General Buell, Mount Vernon, Kentucky:

Your telegram of the 17th was received this morning, and has been laid before the President, who concurs in the views expressed in my telegram to you yesterday. The capture of East Tennessee should be the main object of your campaign. You say it is the heart of the enemy's resources; make it the heart of yours. Your army can live there if the enemy's can. You must in a great measure live upon the country, paying for your supplies where proper, and levying contributions where necessary. I am directed by the President to say to you that your army must enter East Tennessee this fall, and that it ought to move there while the roads are passable. Once between the enemy and Nashville, there will be no serious difficulty in reopening your communications with that place. He does not understand why we cannot march as the enemy marches, live as he lives, and fight as he fights, unless we admit the inferiority of our troops and of our generals. Once hold the valley of the upper Tennessee, and the operations of guerrillas in that State and Kentucky will soon cease.

H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief.

BULLITT, CUTHBERT.

[*Private.*]

Washington, D. C., July 28, 1862.

Cuthbert Bullitt, Esq., New Orleans, Louisiana.

Sir: The copy of a letter addressed to yourself by Mr. Thomas J. Durant has been shown to me. The writer appears to be an able, a dispassionate, and an entirely sincere man. The first part of the letter is devoted to an effort to show that the secession ordinance of Louisiana was adopted against the will of a majority of the people. This is probably true, and in that fact may be found some instruction. Why did they allow the ordinance to go into effect? Why did they not assert themselves? Why stand passive and allow themselves to be trodden down by a minority? Why did they not hold popular meetings and have a convention of their own to express and enforce the true sentiment of the State? If preorganization was against them then, why not do this now that the United States army is present to protect them? The paralysis—the dead palsy—of the government in this whole struggle is, that this class of men will do nothing for the government, nothing for themselves, except demanding that the government shall not strike its open enemies lest they be struck by accident!

Mr. Durant complains that in various ways the relation of master and slave is disturbed by the presence of our army, and he considers it particularly vexatious that this, in part, is done under cover of an act of Congress, while constitutional guaranties are suspended on the plea of military necessity. The truth is, that

what is done and omitted about slaves is done and omitted on the same military necessity. It is a military necessity to have men and money; and we can get neither in sufficient numbers or amounts if we keep from or drive from our lines slaves coming to them. Mr. Durant cannot be ignorant of the pressure in this direction, nor of my efforts to hold it within bounds till he and such as he shall have time to help themselves.

I am not posted to speak understandingly on all the police regulations of which Mr. Durant complains. If experience shows any one of them to be wrong, let them be set right. I think I can perceive in the freedom of trade which Mr. Durant urges that he would relieve both friends and enemies from the pressure of the blockade. By this he would serve the enemy more effectively than the enemy is able to serve himself. I do not say or believe that to serve the enemy is the purpose of Mr. Durant, or that he is conscious of any purpose other than national and patriotic ones. Still, if there were a class of men who, having no choice of sides in the contest, were anxious only to have quiet and comfort for themselves while it rages, and to fall in with the victorious side at the end of it without loss to themselves, their advice as to the mode of conducting the contest would be precisely such as his is. He speaks of no duty—apparently thinks of none—resting upon Union men. He even thinks it injurious to the Union cause that they should be restrained in trade and passage without taking sides. They are to touch neither a sail nor a pump, but to be merely passengers—deadheads at that—to be carried snug and dry throughout the storm, and

safely landed right side up. Nay, more: even a mutineer is to go untouched, lest these sacred passengers receive an accidental wound. Of course the rebellion will never be suppressed in Louisiana if the professed Union men there will neither help to do it nor permit the government to do it without their help. Now, I think the true remedy is very different from what is suggested by Mr. Durant. It does not lie in rounding the rough angles of the war, but in removing the necessity for the war. The people of Louisiana who wish protection to person and property have but to reach forth their hands and take it. Let them in good faith reinaugurate the national authority, and set up a State government conforming thereto under the Constitution. They know how to do it, and can have the protection of the army while doing it. The army will be withdrawn so soon as such State government can dispense with its presence; and the people of the State can then, upon the old Constitutional terms, govern themselves to their own liking. This is very simple and easy.

If they will not do this—if they prefer to hazard all for the sake of destroying the government, it is for them to consider whether it is probable I will surrender the government to save them from losing all. If they decline what I suggest, you scarcely need to ask what I will do. What would you do in my position? Would you drop the war where it is? Or would you prosecute it in future with elder-stalk squirts charged with rose-water? Would you deal lighter blows rather than heavier ones? Would you give up the contest, leaving any available means unapplied? I am in no boastful mood.

I shall not do more than I can, and I shall do all I can, to save the government, which is my sworn duty as well as my personal inclination. I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[See CHASE, SALMON P., Dec. 23, 1862.]

BURBRIDGE, S. G.

Washington, D. C., August 8, 1864.

Major-General Burbridge, Lexington, Kentucky:

Last December Mrs. Emily T. Helm, half-sister of Mrs. Lincoln, and widow of the rebel general, Ben Hardin Helm, stopped here on her way from Georgia to Kentucky, and I gave her a paper as I remember, to protect her against the mere fact of her being General Helm's widow. I hear a rumor to-day that you recently sought to arrest her, but were prevented by her presenting the paper from me. I do not intend to protect her against the consequences of disloyal words or acts, spoken or done by her since her return to Kentucky, and if the paper given her by me can be construed to give her protection for such words or acts, it is hereby revoked *pro tanto*. Deal with her for current conduct just as you would with any other.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, October 27, 1864.

Major-General Burbridge:

It is represented to me that an officer has, by your authority, assessed and collected considerable sums of money from citizens of Allen and

Barren counties, Kentucky, to compensate Union men for depredations committed upon them in the vicinity by rebels; and I am petitioned to order the money to be refunded. At most, I could not do this without hearing both sides, which, as yet, I have not. I write now to say that, in my opinion, in some extreme cases this class of proceedings becomes a necessity; but that it is liable to—almost inseparable from—great abuses, and therefore should only be sparingly resorted to, and be conducted with great caution; that you, in your department, must be the judge of the proper localities and occasions for applying it; and that it will be well for you to see that your subordinates be at all times ready to account for every dollar, as to why collected, of whom, and how applied. Without this you will soon find some of them making assessments and collections merely to put money in their own pockets, and it will also be impossible to correct errors in future and better times.

In the case I have mentioned, such good men as Hon. J. R. Underwood and Hon. Henry Grider, though not personally interested, have appealed to me in behalf of others. So soon as you can, consistently with your other duties, I will thank you to acquaint yourself with the particulars of this case, and make any correction which may seem to be proper.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., November 10, 1864.
Major-General Burbridge, Lexington, Kentucky:
I have just received a telegram from Governor

Bramlette saying: "General John B. Houston, a loyal man and prominent citizen, was arrested, and, yesterday, started off by General Burbridge, to be sent beyond our lines by way of Catlettsburg, for no other offense than opposition to your reëlection," and I have answered him as follows below, of which please take notice and report to me.

A. Lincoln.

[See BRAMLETTE, THOMAS E., Nov. 10, 1864.]

BURNSIDE, AMBROSE E.

War Department, June 28, 1862.

Major-General Burnside, Newbern:

We have intelligence that General McClellan has been attacked in large force and compelled to fall back toward the James River. We are not advised of his exact condition, but the President directs that you shall send him all the reinforcements from your command to the James River that you can safely do without abandoning your own position. Let it be infantry entirely, as he said yesterday that he had cavalry enough.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 28, 1862.

General Burnside:

I think you had better go, with any reinforcements you can spare, to General McClellan.

A. Lincoln.

[See MCCLELLAN, GEORGE B., Nov. 5, 1862.]

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, Washington,
November 25, 1862. 11.30 a. m.

Major-General Burnside, Falmouth, Virginia:

If I should be in boat off Aquia Creek at dark to-morrow (Wednesday) evening, could you, without inconvenience, meet me and pass an hour or two with me?

A. Lincoln.

On December 16, 1862, the President telegraphed General Burnside, asking him to ascertain from General Sigel and his old corps whether Stahel or Schurz would be preferable as a commander. He promised to be governed "after all" by Burnside's preference.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, Washington City, D. C.,
December 30, 1862. 3.30 p. m.

Major-General Burnside:

I have good reason for saying you must not make a general movement of the army without letting me know.

A. Lincoln.

Headquarters Army of the Potomac,
January 5, 1863.

His Excellency the President of the United States:

Since my return to the army I have become more than ever convinced that the general officers of this command are almost unanimously opposed to another crossing of the river; but I am still of the opinion that the crossing should be attempted, and I have accordingly issued orders to the engineers and artillery to prepare for it. There is much hazard in it, as there always is in the majority of military movements, and I cannot begin the movement without giving you notice of it, particularly as I know so little of the effect that it may have upon other movements of distant armies.

The influence of your telegram the other day is still

upon me, and has impressed me with the idea that there are many parts of the problem which influence you that are not known to me.

In order to relieve you from all embarrassment in my case, I inclose with this my resignation of my commission as major-general of volunteers, which you can have accepted if my movement is not in accordance with the views of yourself and your military advisers.

I have taken the liberty to write to you personally upon this subject, because it was necessary, as I learn from General Halleck, for you to approve of my general plan, written at Warrenton, before I could commence the movement; and I think it quite as necessary that you should know of the important movement I am about to make, particularly as it will have to be made in opposition to the views of nearly all my general officers, and after the receipt of a despatch from you informing me of the opinion of some of them who had visited you.

In conversation with you on New Year's morning, I was led to express some opinions which I afterward felt it my duty to place on paper, and to express them verbally to the gentlemen of whom we were speaking. which I did in your presence after handing you the letter. You were not disposed then, as I saw, to retain the letter, and I took it back, but I now return it to you for record, if you wish it.

I beg leave to say that my resignation is not sent in in any spirit of insubordination, but, as I before said, simply to relieve you from any embarrassment in changing commanders where lack of confidence may have rendered it necessary.

The bearer of this will bring me any answer, or I should be glad to hear from you by telegraph in cipher.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. E. Burnside,
Major-General, Commanding Army of the Potomac.

Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, January 7, 1863.

Major-General Burnside,
Commanding, etc., Falmouth.

General: Your communication of the 5th was delivered to me by your aide-de-camp at 12 m. to-day.

In all my communications and interviews with you since you took command of the Army of the Potomac, I have advised a forward movement across the Rappahannock. At our interview at Warrenton I urged that you should cross by the fords above Fredericksburg, rather than to fall down to that place; and when I left you at Warrenton it was understood that at least a considerable part of your army would cross by the fords, and I so represented to the President. It was this modification of the plan proposed by you that I telegraphed you had received his approval. When the attempt at Fredericksburg was abandoned, I advised you to renew the attempt at some other point, either in whole or in part to turn the enemy's works, or to threaten their wings or communications; in other words, to keep the enemy occupied till a favorable opportunity offered to strike a decisive blow. I particularly advised you to use your cavalry and light artillery upon his communications, and attempt to cut off his supplies and engage him at an advantage.

In all our interviews I have urged that our first object was, not Richmond, but the defeat or scattering of Lee's army, which threatened Washington and the line of the upper Potomac. I now recur to these things simply to remind you of the general views which I have expressed, and which I still hold.

The circumstances of the case, however, have somewhat changed since the early part of November. The chances of an extended line of operations are now, on account of the advanced season, much less than then. But the chances are still in our favor to meet and defeat the enemy on the Rappahannock, if we can effect a crossing in a position where we can meet the enemy on favorable or even equal terms. I therefore still advise a movement against him. The character of that movement, however, must depend upon circumstances which may change any day and almost any hour. If the enemy should concentrate his forces at the place you have selected for a crossing, make it a feint and try another place. Again, the circumstances at the time may be such as to render an attempt to cross the entire army not advisable. In that case theory suggests that, while the enemy concentrates at that point, advantages can be gained by crossing smaller forces at other points

to cut off his lines, destroy his communication, and capture his rear-guards, outposts, etc. The great object is to occupy the enemy, to prevent his making large detachments or distant raids, and to injure him all you can with the least injury to yourself. If this can be best accomplished by feints of a general crossing and detached real crossings, take that course; if by an actual general crossing, with feints on other points, adopt that course. There seem to me to be many reasons why a crossing at some point should be attempted. It will not do to keep your large army inactive. As you yourself admit, it devolves on you to decide upon the time, place, and character of the crossing which you may attempt. I can only advise that an attempt be made, and as early as possible.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief.

[*Indorsement.*]

January 8, 1863.

General Burnside:

I understand General Halleck has sent you a letter of which this is a copy. I approve this letter. I deplore the want of concurrence with you in opinion by your general officers, but I do not see the remedy. Be cautious, and do not understand that the government or country is driving you. I do not yet see how I could profit by changing the command of the Army of the Potomac; and if I did, I should not wish to do it by accepting the resignation of your commission.

A. Lincoln.

[*Order Relieving General A. E. Burnside and Making Other Changes.*]

(General Orders No. 20.)
War Department, Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, D. C., January 25, 1863.

I. The President of the United States has directed:

1st. That Major-General A. E. Burnside, at his own request, be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac.

2d. That Major-General E. V. Sumner, at his own request, be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

3d. That Major-General W. B. Franklin be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

4th. That Major-General J. Hooker be assigned to the command of the Army of the Potomac.

II. The officers relieved as above will report in person to the adjutant-general of the army.

By order of the Secretary of War:

E. D. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant-General.

War Department,
Washington City, April 29, 1863.

Major-General Ambrose E. Burnside,
Commanding Department of the Ohio, Cincinnati:

A telegram from Louisville, published in the "National Intelligencer" of this morning, contains the following paragraph:

During the sale of a lot of negroes at the court-house this morning, the provost-marshal notified the owners that four were free under the President's proclamation. They nevertheless went on, when the matter of the four contrabands was turned over to the district judge, who will take measures to annul the sale.

The President directs me to say to you that he is much surprised to find that persons who are free under his proclamation have been suffered to be sold under any pretense whatever; and also desires me to remind you of the terms of the acts of Congress by which the fugitive negroes of rebel owners taking refuge within our lines are declared to be "captives of war."

He desires you to take immediate measures to prevent any persons who, by act of Congress, are entitled to protection from the government as "captives of war" from being returned to bondage or suffering any wrong prohibited by that act. A detailed despatch, with instructions, will be sent to you to-day. Your vigilant and earnest attention to this subject within your department is specially requested.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

War Department, May 20, 1863.

Major-General A. E. Burnside,
Commanding Department of the Ohio,
Cincinnati, Ohio:

Your despatch of three o'clock this afternoon to the Secretary of War has been received and shown to the President. He thinks the best disposition to be made of Vallandigham is to put him beyond the lines, as directed in the order transmitted to you last evening, and directs that you execute that order by sending him forward under secure guard without delay to General Rosecrans.

By order of the President:

Ed. R. S. Canby, Brigadier-General.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 29, 1863.

Major-General Burnside, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Your despatch of to-day received. When I shall wish to supersede you I will let you know. All the cabinet regretted the necessity of arresting, for instance, Vallandigham, some perhaps doubting there was a real necessity for it; but, being done, all were for seeing you through with it.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
Washington, July 27, 1863.

Major-General Burnside, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Let me explain. In General Grant's first despatch after the fall of Vicksburg, he said, among other things, he would send the Ninth Corps to you. Thinking it would be pleasant to you, I asked the Secretary of War to telegraph you the news. For some reasons never mentioned to us by General Grant, they have not been sent, though we have seen outside intimations that they took part in the expedition against Jackson. General Grant is a copious worker and fighter, but a very meager writer or telegrapher. No doubt he changed his purpose in regard to the Ninth Corps for some sufficient reason, but has forgotten to notify us of it.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, September 11, 1863. 11.30 a. m.

Major-General Burnside, Cumberland Gap:

Yours received. A thousand thanks for the late successes you have given us. We cannot allow you to resign until things shall be a little more settled in East Tennessee. If then, purely on your own account, you wish to resign, we will not further refuse you.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
September 21, 1863. 11 a. m.

General Burnside, Greenville, Tennessee:

If you are to do any good to Rosecrans it will

not do to waste time with Jonesboro. It is already too late to do the most good that might have been done, but I hope it will still do some good. Please do not lose a moment.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
September 21, 1863.

General Burnside, Knoxville, Tenn.:

Go to Rosecrans with your force without a moment's delay.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
September 27, 1863. 8 p. m.

Major-General Burnside, Knoxville, Tennessee:

It was suggested to you, not ordered, that you should move to Rosecrans on the north side of the river, because it was believed the enemy would not permit you to join him if you should move on the south side. Hold your present positions, and send Rosecrans what you can spare, in the quickest and safest way. In the meantime hold the remainder as nearly in readiness to go to him as you can consistently with the duty it is to perform while it remains. East Tennessee can be no more than temporarily lost so long as Chattanooga is firmly held.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
September 27, 1863. 6.45 p. m.

Major-General Burnside, Knoxville, Tennessee:

Your despatch just received. My order to you

meant simply that you should save Rosecrans from being crushed out, believing if he lost his position you could not hold East Tennessee in any event; and that if he held his position, East Tennessee was substantially safe in any event. This despatch is in no sense an order. General Halleck will answer you fully.

A. Lincoln.

Butler, Benjamin F.

On May 27, 1861, General B. F. Butler, in command at Fortress Monroe, wrote to Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, that he was greatly embarrassed by fugitive slaves flocking into his camp, and so had determined to regard them as "contraband of war," employing their labor at fair wages from which he would deduct the expense of their support. In this course he was upheld by the government.

On the 8th of August, after the passage of the Confiscation Act by Congress, the Secretary of War wrote to General Butler, setting forth somewhat more fully the views of the President and the administration upon this subject, as follows:

It is the desire of the President that all existing rights in *all the States be fully respected and maintained.* The war now prosecuted on the part of the Federal government is a war for the Union and for the preservation of all constitutional rights of States and the citizens of the Union. Hence no question can arise as to fugitives from service within the States and Territories in which the authority of the Union is fully acknowledged. The ordinary forms of judicial proceedings which must be respected by military and civil authorities alike, will suffice for the enforcement of all legal claims. But in States wholly or partially under insurrectionary control, where the laws of the United States

are so far opposed and resisted, that they cannot be effectually enforced, it is obvious the rights dependent on the execution of those laws must temporarily fail; and it is equally obvious that rights dependent on the laws of the States within which military operations are conducted must be necessarily subordinated to the military exigencies created by the insurrection, if not wholly forfeited by the treasonable conduct of parties claiming them. To this general rule rights to services can form no exception.

The act of Congress, approved August 6th, 1861, declares that if persons held to service shall be employed in hostility to the United States, the right to their services shall be forfeited, and such persons shall be discharged therefrom. It follows of necessity that no claim can be recognized by the military authorities of the Union to the services of such persons when fugitives.

A more difficult question is presented in respect to persons escaping from the service of loyal masters. It is quite apparent that the laws of the State, under which only the services of such fugitives can be claimed, must needs be wholly, or almost wholly, suspended as to remedies, by the insurrection and military measures necessitated by it, and it is equally apparent that the substitution of military for judicial measures, for the enforcement of such claims, must be attended by great inconveniences, embarrassments, and injuries.

Under these circumstances it is quite clear that the substantial rights of loyal masters will be best protected by receiving such fugitives, as well as fugitives from disloyal masters, into the

service of the United States, and employing them under such organizations and in such occupations as circumstances may suggest or require. Of course a record should be kept, showing the name and description of fugitives, the name and the character, as loyal or disloyal, of the master, and such facts as may be necessary to a correct understanding of the circumstances of each case after tranquillity shall have been restored. Upon the return of peace, Congress will doubtless properly provide for all the persons thus received into the service of the Union, and for just compensation to loyal masters. In this way only, it would seem, can the duty and safety of the Government, and the just rights of all, be fully reconciled and harmonized.

You will therefore consider yourself as instructed to govern your future action, in respect to fugitives from service, by the principles herein stated, and will report from time to time, and at least twice in each month, your action in the premises of this department. You will, however, neither authorize nor permit any interference by the troops under your command, with the servants of peaceful citizens, in house or field, nor will you, in any way, encourage such servants to leave the lawful service of their master; nor will you, except in cases where the public safety may seem to require it, prevent the voluntary return of any fugitive to the service from which he may have escaped.

War Department,
Washington City, July 3, 1862.

Major-General B. F. Butler, New Orleans:

I wrote you last under date of the 29th ultimo,

and have now to say that your despatch of the 18th ultimo, with the accompanying report of General Phelps concerning certain fugitive negroes that have come to his pickets, has been considered by the President.

He is of opinion that under the law of Congress they cannot be sent back to their masters; that in common humanity they must not be permitted to suffer for want of food, shelter, or other necessaries of life; that to this end they should be provided for by the quartermaster's and commissary's departments; and that those who are capable of labor should be set to work and paid reasonable wages.

In directing this to be done, the President does not mean, at present, to settle any general rule in respect to slaves or slavery, but simply to provide for the particular case under the circumstances in which it is now presented.

I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

On October 14, 1862, the President wrote General Butler, Governor Shepley, and all others having United States authority in Louisiana, to further the plans of John E. Bouligny for holding elections in the State under Federal government. "In all available ways give the people a chance to express their wishes at these elections. Follow forms of law as far as convenient, but at all events get the expression of the largest number of the people possible. All see how such action will connect with and affect the proclamation of September 22 [*Emancipation Proclamation*]. Of course the men

elected should be gentlemen of character, willing to swear support to the Constitution, as of old, and known to be above reasonable suspicion of duplicity.

"Yours very respectfully,

"A. Lincoln."

[*Message to Congress, with a Present of Three Swords.*]

December 12, 1862.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: I have in my possession three valuable swords, formerly the property of General David E. Twiggs, which I now place at the disposal of Congress. They are forwarded to me from New Orleans by Major-General Benjamin F. Butler. If they, or any of them, shall be by Congress disposed of in reward or compliment of military service, I think General Butler is entitled to the first consideration. A copy of the general's letter to me, accompanying the swords, is herewith transmitted.

Abraham Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 29, 1862.

Major-General B. F. Butler.

My dear Sir: I believe you have a family, and I dislike to deprive you of an early visit to them; but I really wish to see you at the earliest moment. I am contemplating a peculiar and important service for you, which I think, and I hope you will think, is as honorable as it is important. I wish to confer with you upon it.

Please come immediately upon your arrival at New York.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 2, 1863.

Major-General Butler:

The Secretary of War and myself have concluded to discharge, of the prisoners at Point Lookout, the following classes:

First. Those who will take the oath prescribed in the proclamation of December 8, and by the consent of General Marston will enlist in our service.

Second. Those who will take the oath and be discharged, and whose homes lie safely within our military lines.

I send by Mr. Hay this letter, and a blank-book and some other blanks, the way of using which I propose for him to explain verbally better than I can in writing.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 17, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Virginia:

If you obtain the remains of Colonel Dahlgren, please notify me instantly, so that I can let his afflicted relatives know.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

Washington, D. C., May 18, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Bermuda Hundred, Virginia:

Until receiving your despatch of yesterday, the idea of commissions in the volunteers expiring at the end of three years had not occurred to me. I think no trouble will come of it; and, at all events, I shall take care of it so far as in me lies. As to the major-generalships in the regular army, I think I shall not dispose of another, at least until the combined operations now in progress, under direction of General Grant, and within which yourself and command are included, shall be terminated.

Meanwhile, on behalf of yourself, officers, and men, please accept my hearty thanks for what you and they have so far done.

A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., September 13, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Bermuda Hundred, Virginia:

The Ames guns I am under promise to pay, or rather to advise paying, a very high price for, provided they bear the test, and they are not yet tested, though I believe in process of being tested. I could not be justified to pay the extraordinary price without the testing. I shall be happy to let you have some of them as soon as I can. How comes on your canal?

A. Lincoln.

War Department, Washington City.

Mr. President: Please read the accompanying telegram, just received, and favor me with

your judgment on the point presented by General Butler, so that I can answer him.

Yours truly,

E. M. Stanton.

[*Indorsement.*]

I think this might lie over till morning. The tendency of the order, it seems to me, is to bring on a collision with the State authority, which I would rather avoid, at least until the necessity for it is more apparent than it yet is.

A. Lincoln.

November 5, 1864.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 21, 1864.

Major-General Butler:

On the 9th of August last, I began to write you a letter, the inclosed being a copy of so much as I then wrote. So far as it goes it embraces the views I then entertained and still entertain.

A little relaxation of complaints made to me on the subject, occurring about that time, the letter was not finished and sent. I now learn, correctly I suppose, that you have ordered an election, similar to the one mentioned, to take place on the eastern shore of Virginia. Let this be suspended at least until conference with me and obtaining my approval.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Inclosure.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 9, 1864.

Major-General Butler:

Your paper of the —— about Norfolk mat-

ters, is received, as also was your other, on the same general subject, dated, I believe, some time in February last. This subject has caused considerable trouble, forcing me to give a good deal of time and reflection to it. I regret that crimination and recrimination are mingled in it. I surely need not to assure you that I have no doubt of your loyalty and devoted patriotism; and I must tell you that I have no less confidence in those of Governor Pierpoint and the Attorney-General. The former—at first as the loyal governor of all Virginia, including that which is now West Virginia, in organizing and furnishing troops, and in all other proper matters—was as earnest, honest, and efficient to the extent of his means as any other loyal governor.

The inauguration of West Virginia as a new State left to him, as he assumed, the remainder of the old State; and the insignificance of the parts which are outside of the rebel lines, and consequently within his reach, certainly gives a somewhat farcical air to his dominion, and I suppose he, as well as I, has considered that it could be useful for little else than as a nucleus to add to. The Attorney-General only needs to be known to be relieved from all questions as to loyalty and thorough devotion to the national cause, constantly restraining as he does my tendency to clemency for rebels and rebel sympathizers. But he is the law-officer of the government, and a believer in the virtue of adhering to law.

Coming to the question itself, the military occupancy of Norfolk is a necessity with us. If you, as department commander, find the cleans-

ing of the city necessary to prevent pestilence in your army; street-lights and a fire-department necessary to prevent assassinations and incendiarism among your men and stores; wharfage necessary to land and ship men and supplies; a large pauperism, badly conducted at a needlessly large expense to the government; and find also that these things, or any of them, are not reasonably well attended to by the civil government, you rightfully may and must take them into your own hands. But you should do so on your own avowed judgment of a military necessity, and not seem to admit that there is no such necessity by taking a vote of the people on the question.

Nothing justifies the suspending of the civil by the military authority, but military necessity; and of the existence of that necessity, the military commander, and not a popular vote, is to decide. And whatever is not within such necessity should be left undisturbed.

In your paper of February you fairly notified me that you contemplated taking a popular vote, and, if fault there be, it was my fault that I did not object then, which I probably should have done had I studied the subject as closely as I have since done. I now think you would better place whatever you feel is necessary to be done on this distinct ground of military necessity, openly discarding all reliance for what you do on any election. I also think you should keep accounts as to show every item of money received and how expended.

The course here indicated does not touch the case when the military commander, finding no friendly civil government existing, may, under

the sanction or direction of the President, give assistance to the people to inaugurate one.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., December 28, 1864.
Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Virginia:

I think you will find that the provost-marshal on the eastern shore has, as by your authority, issued an order, not for a meeting, but for an election. The order, printed in due form, was shown to me, but as I did not retain it, I cannot give you a copy. If the people, on their own motion, wish to hold a peaceful meeting, I suppose you need not to hinder them.

A. Lincoln.

On December 29, 1864, the President wrote General Butler concerning a Connecticut volunteer, under the assumed name of William Stanley, who was under arrest for desertion. His "real name is Frank R. Judd. . . He is the son of our present minister to Prussia, who is a close personal friend of Senator Trumbull and myself. We are not willing for the boy to be shot, but we think it as well that his trial go regularly on, suspending execution until further order from me, and reporting to me."

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 10, 1865.
Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Virginia:

No principal report of yours on the Wilmington expedition has ever reached the War Depart-

ment, as I am informed there. A preliminary report did reach here, but was returned to General Grant at his request. Of course, leave to publish cannot be given without inspection of the paper, and not then if it should be deemed to be detrimental to the public service.

A. Lincoln.

Butler, William.

[See Yates, R.]

Butterfield, Daniel.

[*Cipher.*]

War Department,
Washington City, May 11, 1863.

Major-General Butterfield:

About what distance is it from the observatory we stopped at last Thursday, to the line of enemy's works you ranged the glass upon for me?

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., June 4, 1863.

Major-General Butterfield:

The news you send me from the Richmond Sentinel of the 3d must be greatly if not wholly incorrect. The Thursday mentioned was the 28th, and we have despatches here directly from Vicksburg of the 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st, and while they speak of the siege progressing, they speak of no assault or general fighting whatever, and in fact they so speak as to almost exclude the idea that there can have been any since Monday the 25th, which was not very heavy. Neither do they mention any demand made by Grant upon

Pemberton for a surrender. They speak of our troops as being in good health, condition and spirits. Some of them do say that Banks has Port Hudson invested.

A. Lincoln.

Butterfield, Justin.

[See Chicago Journal; Embree, E.; Gillespie, Joseph; Green, Duff; Lucas, J. M.]

Cabinet, The.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 23, 1862.

Gentlemen of the Cabinet:

A bill for an act entitled "An Act for the admission of the State of West Virginia into the Union and for other purposes," has passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, and has been duly presented to me for my action.

I respectfully ask of each of you an opinion in writing on the following questions, to wit:

1st. Is the said act constitutional?

2d. Is the said act expedient?

Your obedient servant,
Abraham Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, May 3, 1864.

Sir: It is now quite certain that a large number of our colored soldiers, with their white officers, were by the rebel force massacred after they had surrendered, at the recent capture of Fort Pillow. So much is known, though the evidence is not yet quite ready to be laid before me. Meanwhile I will thank you to prepare,

and give me in writing, your opinion as to what course the government should take in the case.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Memorandum.*]

I must myself be the judge how long to retain in and when to remove any of you from his position. It would greatly pain me to discover any of you endeavoring to procure another's removal, or in any way to prejudice him before the public. Such endeavor would be a wrong to me, and, much worse, a wrong to the country. My wish is that on this subject no remark be made nor question asked by any of you, here or elsewhere, now or hereafter.

[About July 14, 1864.]

Cameron, Simon.

Springfield, Illinois, December 31, 1860.

Hon. Simon Cameron.

My dear Sir: I think fit to notify you now that by your permission I shall at the proper time nominate you to the United States Senate for confirmation as Secretary of the Treasury, or as Secretary of War—which of the two I have not yet definitely decided. Please answer at your earliest convenience.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Illinois, January 3, 1861.

Hon. Simon Cameron.

My dear Sir: Since seeing you things have

developed which make it impossible for me to take you into the cabinet. You will say this comes of an interview with McClure; and this is partly, but not wholly, true. The more potent matter is wholly outside of Pennsylvania; and yet I am not at liberty to specify it. Enough that it appears to me to be sufficient. And now I suggest that you write me declining the appointment, in which case I do not object to its being known that it was tendered you. Better do this at once, before things so change that you cannot honorably decline, and I be compelled to openly recall the tender. No person living knows or has an intimation that I write this letter.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

P. S. Telegraph me instantly on receipt of this, saying, "All right." A. L.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, January 13, 1861.

Hon. Simon Cameron.

My dear Sir: At the suggestion of Mr. Sanderson, and with hearty good-will besides, I herewith send you a letter dated January 3—the same in date as the last you received from me. I thought best to give it that date, as it is in some sort to take the place of that letter. I learn, both by a letter from Mr. Swett and from Mr. Sanderson, that your feelings were wounded by the terms of my letter really of the 3d. I wrote that letter under great anxiety, and perhaps I was not so guarded in its terms as I should have been; but I beg you to be assured I intended

no offense. My great object was to have you act quickly, if possible before the matter should be complicated with the Pennsylvania senatorial election. Destroy the offensive letter, or return it to me.

I say to you now I have not doubted that you would perform the duties of a department ably and faithfully. Nor have I for a moment intended to ostracize your friends. If I should make a cabinet appointment for Pennsylvania before I reach Washington, I will not do so without consulting you, and giving all the weight to your views and wishes which I consistently can. This I have always intended.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Inclosure.*]

Springfield, Illinois, January 3, 1861.

Hon. Simon Cameron.

My dear Sir: When you were here, about the last of December, I handed you a letter saying I should at the proper time nominate you to the Senate for a place in the cabinet. It is due to you and to truth for me to say you were here by my invitation, and not upon any suggestion of your own. You have not as yet signified to me whether you would accept the appointment, and with much pain I now say to you that you will relieve me from great embarrassment by allowing me to recall the offer. This springs from an unexpected complication, and not from any change of my view as to the ability or faithfulness with which you would discharge the duties of the place. I now think I will not definitely fix upon

any appointment for Pennsylvania until I reach Washington.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, May 13, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Dear Sir: You see on the other side of this sheet that four German regiments already raised in New York wish to form a brigade and have Carl Schurz for their brigadier-general. Why should it not be done at once? By the plan of organization, I see I am to appoint the generals.

Schurz says he would, if allowed, go immediately to Fortress Monroe; and if it would be an objection that, by rank, he would command the garrison there, he would, of choice, waive that.

I am for it, unless there be some valid reason against it.

Answer soon.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

On June 13, 1861, the President wrote to the Secretary of War for his approval of receiving in the service the Massachusetts regiment commanded by Fletcher Webster, the son of Daniel Webster.

On June 17, 1861, the President expressed himself to the Secretary of War as approving the acceptance into the three years' service of not exceeding four additional regiments from Indiana, and not exceeding six additional regiments from Ohio.

Executive Mansion, June 17, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: With your concurrence, and that of the Governor of Indiana I am in favor

of accepting into what we call the three years' service any number not exceeding four additional regiments from that State. Probably they should come from the triangular region between the Ohio and Wabash Rivers, including my own old boyhood home. Please see Hon. C. M. Allen, Speaker of the Indiana House of Representatives, and unless you perceive good reasons to the contrary, draw up an order for him according to the above.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, June 20, 1861.

My dear Sir: Since you spoke to me yesterday about General J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I have been reflecting upon the subject, and have concluded that we need the service of such a man out there at once; that we had better appoint him a brigadier-general of volunteers to-day, and send him off with such authority to raise a force (I think *two* regiments better than *three,* but as to this I am not particular) as you think will get him into actual work quickest. Tell him, when he starts, to put it through—not to be writing or telegraphing back here, but put it through.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Hon. Secretary of War.

[*Indorsement.*]

General Lane has been authorized to raise two additional regiments of volunteers.

Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.

Executive Mansion,
August 1, 1861.

My dear Sir: Herewith I inclose you a resolution of the Senate inquiring whether Hon. James H. Lane, of Kansas, has been appointed a general in the army of the United States; and if yea, whether he has accepted the appointment. Will you please furnish me, as soon as possible, copies of all record entries and correspondence upon the subject which are in your department, together with a brief statement of your personal knowledge of whatever may contribute to a full and fair statement of the case.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
August 7, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: The within paper, as you see, is by Hon. John S. Phelps and Hon. Frank P. Blair, Jr., both members of the present Congress from Missouri. The object is to get up an efficient force of Missourians in the southwestern part of the State. It ought to be done, and Mr. Phelps ought to have general superintendence of it. I see by a private report to me from the department that eighteen regiments are already accepted from Missouri. Can it not be arranged that part of them (not yet organized, as I understand) may be taken from the locality mentioned and put under the control of Mr. Phelps, and let him have discretion to accept them for a shorter term than three years or the war—understanding, however, that he will get them for the full term if he can? I hope this can be done,

because Mr. Phelps is too zealous and efficient and understands his ground too well for us to lose his service. Of course provision for arming, equipping, etc., must be made. Mr. Phelps is here, and wishes to carry home with him authority for this matter.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, August 8, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: Edward Ellsworth, first cousin to Colonel Ellsworth who fell at Alexandria, a non-commissioned officer in the fourth regiment of Michigan Volunteers, now stationed at the Relay House, wishes to be a second lieutenant in the army. He is present while I write this, and he is an intelligent and an exceedingly wary-appearing young man of twenty years of age. I shall be glad if a place can be found for him.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
August 17, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: Unless there be reason to the contrary, not known to me, make out a commission for Simon Buckner,* of Kentucky, as a brigadier-general of volunteers. It is to be put into the hands of General Anderson, and delivered to General Buckner or not, at the discretion of General Anderson. Of course it is to remain a

* The commission was not executed. Buckner entered the Confederate service.

secret unless and until the commission is delivered.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

Same day made.

Executive Mansion,
September 18, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: To guard against misunderstanding, I think fit to say that the joint expedition of the army and navy agreed upon some time since, and in which General T. W. Sherman was and is to bear a conspicuous part, is in no wise to be abandoned, but must be ready to move by the 1st of, or very early in, October. Let all preparations go forward accordingly.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 11, 1862.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: As you have more than once expressed a desire for a change of position, I can now gratify you consistently with my view of the public interest. I therefore propose nominating you to the Senate next Monday as minister to Russia.

Very sincerely, your friend,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 11, 1862.

Dear Sir: Though I have said nothing hitherto

in response to your wish, expressed long since, to resign your seat in the Cabinet, I have not been unmindful of it. I have been only unwilling to consent to a change at a time and under circumstances which might give occasion to misconstruction, and unable till now to see how such misconstruction could be avoided.

But the desire of Mr. Clay to return home and to offer his services to his country in the field enables me now to gratify your wish, and at the same time evince my personal regard for you, and my confidence in your ability, patriotism, and fidelity to public trust.

I therefore tender to your acceptance, if you still desire to resign your present position, the post of minister to Russia. Should you accept it, you will bear with you the assurance of my undiminished confidence, of my affectionate esteem, and of my sure expectation that, near the great sovereign whose personal and hereditary friendship for the United States so much endears him to Americans, you will be able to render services to your country not less important than those you could render at home.

Very sincerely, your friend,

A. Lincoln.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.

On the same day Secretary Cameron accepted the change of official duties, concluding his letter as follows:

"In retiring from the War Department I feel that the mighty army of the United States is ready to do battle for the Constitution; that it is marshaled by gallant and experienced leaders;

that it is animated with the greatest enthusiasm for the good cause, and also that my successor in this department is my personal friend, who unites to wonderful intellect and vigor the grand essential of being in earnest in the present struggle, and of being resolved upon a speedy and overwhelming triumph of our arms. I therefore frankly accept the new distinction you have tendered me, and as soon as important and long-neglected private business can be arranged I will enter upon the important duties of the mission which you have assigned me.

"I have the honor to be, my dear sir,

"Your obedient and humble servant,

"Simon Cameron.

"Abraham Lincoln, President."

[*Cipher.*]

War Department,
Washington City, July 15, 1863.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Harrisburg, Pa.:

Your despatch of yesterday received. Lee was already across the river when you sent it. I would give much to be relieved of the impression that Meade, Smith, and all since the battle at Gettysburg, have striven only to get Lee over the river without another fight. Please tell me, if you know, who was the one corps commander who was for fighting in the council of war on Sunday night.

A. Lincoln.

CAMPBELL, A.

Springfield, June 25, 1858.

A. Campbell, Esq.

My dear Sir: In 1856 you gave me authority

to draw on you for any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars. I see clearly that such a privilege would be more available now than it was then. I am aware that times are tighter now than they were then. Please write me, at all events; and whether you can now do anything or not, I shall continue grateful for the past.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

CAMPBELL, J. A.

[*Unsigned Memorandum.*]

APRIL 5, 1865.

As to peace, I have said before, and now repeat, that three things are indispensable:

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout the United States.

2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message, and in preceding documents.

3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government. That all propositions coming from those now in hostility to the government, not inconsistent with the foregoing, will be respectfully considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality.

I now add that it seems useless for me to be more specific with those who will not say that they are ready for the indispensable terms, even on conditions to be named by themselves. If there be any who are ready for these indispensable terms, on any conditions whatever, let

them say so, and state their conditions, so that the conditions can be known and considered. It is further added, that the remission of confiscation being within the executive power, if the war be now further persisted in by those opposing the government, the making of confiscated property at the least to bear the additional cost will be insisted on, but that confiscations (except in case of third party intervening interests) will be remitted to the people of any State which shall now promptly and in good faith withdraw its troops from further resistance to the government. What is now said as to the remission of confiscation has no reference to supposed property in slaves.

Campbell, Thomas H.

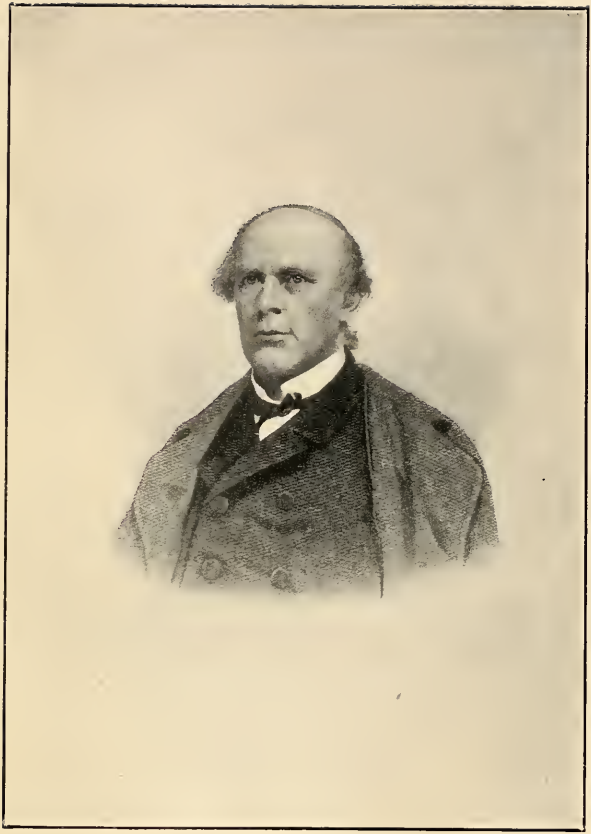
[See Chase, Salmon P., Mar. 10, 1862.]

Campbell, Wm. B., and Others.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., October 22, 1864.

Messrs. Wm. B. Campbell, Thomas A. R. Nelson, James T. P. Carter, John Williams, A. Blizzard, Henry Cooper, Bailie Peyton, John Lellyett, E. Etheridge, John D. Perrymans.

Gentlemen: On the fifteenth day of this month, as I remember, a printed paper, with a few manuscript interlineations, called a protest, with your names appended thereto, and accompanied by another printed paper purporting to be a proclamation by Andrew Johnson, military governor of Tennessee, and also a manuscript paper



SALMON P. CHASE

purporting to be extracts from the Code of Tennessee [*relating to Presidential electors, etc.*], was laid before me. The protest, proclamation, and extracts are respectively as follows: [*They are recited.*]

At the time these papers were presented, as before stated, I had never seen either of them, nor heard of the subject to which they relate, except in a general way, only one day previously. Up to the present moment nothing whatever has passed between Governor Johnson, or any one else connected with the proclamation, and myself. Since receiving the papers, as stated, I have given the subject such brief consideration as I have been able to do in the midst of so many pressing public duties.

My conclusion is that I have nothing to do with the matter, either to sustain the plan as the convention and Governor Johnson have initiated it, or to revoke or modify it as you demand. By the Constitution and laws, the President is charged with no duty in the conduct of a presidential election in any State; nor do I, in this case, perceive any military reason for his interference in the matter.

The movement set on foot by the convention and Governor Johnson does not, as seems to be assumed by you, emanate from the national executive. In no proper sense can it be considered other than as an independent movement of at least a portion of the loyal people of Tennessee.

I do not perceive in the plan any menace of violence or coercion toward any one. Governor Johnson, like any other loyal citizen of Tennessee, has the right to favor any political plan

he chooses, and, as military governor, it is his duty to keep the peace among and for the loyal people of the State. I cannot discern that by this plan he purposes any more.

But you object to the plan. Leaving it alone will be your perfect security against it. Do as you please on your own account, peacefully and loyally, and Governor Johnson will not molest you, but will protect you against violence so far as in his power.

I presume that the conducting of a presidential election in Tennessee in strict accordance with the old code of the State is not now a possibility.

It is scarcely necessary to add that if any election shall be held, and any votes shall be cast in the State of Tennessee for President and Vice-President of the United States, it will belong, not to the military agents, nor yet to the executive department, but exclusively to another department of the government, to determine whether they are entitled to be counted in conformity with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Except it be to give protection against violence, I decline to interfere in any way with any presidential election.

Abraham Lincoln.

Canby, E. R. S.

Washington, D. C., July 25, 1864.

Major-General Canby:

Frequent complaints are made to me that persons endeavoring to bring in cotton in strict accordance with the trade regulations of the Treas-

ury Department are frustrated by seizures of district attorneys, marshals, provost-marshals, and others, on various pretenses, all looking to blackmail and spoils, one way and another. I wish, if you can find time, you would look into this matter within your department, and, finding these abuses to exist, break them up, if in your power, so that fair dealing under the regulations can proceed. The printed regulations, no doubt, are accessible to you. If you find the abuses existing, and yet beyond your power, please report to me somewhat particularly upon the facts.

The bearer of this, —— Shaffer, is one who, on behalf of himself and firm, makes complaint, but while he is my friend, I do not ask anything for him which cannot be done for all honest dealers under the regulations.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 21, 1864.

Major-General Canby:

General Baily of Rapides Parish, Louisiana, is vouched to me as entirely trustworthy, and appeals to me in behalf of the people in his region, who he says are mostly Union people, and are in great destitution—almost absolute starvation. He says their condition is greatly aggravated by General Banks's expedition up Red River, last spring, in reliance upon which they mostly took the oath of allegiance.

Of course what General Baily asks is permission to carry provisions to them.

This I will not give without your consent, but I will thank you to hear and consider their case,

and do for them the best you can, consistently with the interests of the public service.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 12, 1864.

Major-General Canby:

I think it is probable that you are laboring under some misapprehension as to the purpose, or rather the motive, of the government on two points—cotton, and the new Louisiana State government.

It is conceded that the military operations are the first in importance; and as to what is indispensable to these operations, the department commander must be judge and master.

But the other matters mentioned I suppose to be of public importance also; and what I have attempted in regard to them is not merely a concession to private interest and pecuniary greed.

As to cotton. By the external blockade, the price is made certainly six times as great as it was. And yet the enemy gets through at least one-sixth part as much in a given period, say a year, as if there were no blockade, and receives as much for it as he would for a full crop in time of peace. The effect in substance, is, that we give him six ordinary crops without the trouble of producing any but the first; and at the same time leave his fields and his laborers free to produce provisions. You know how this keeps up his armies at home and procures supplies from abroad. For other reasons we cannot give up the blockade, and hence it becomes immensely

important to us to get the cotton away from him. Better give him guns for it than let him, as now, get both guns and ammunition for it. But even this only presents part of the public interest to get out cotton. Our finances are greatly involved in the matter. The way cotton goes now carries so much gold out of the country as to leave us paper currency only, and that so far depreciated as that for every hard dollar's worth of supplies we obtain, we contract to pay two and a half hard dollars hereafter. This is much to be regretted; and, while I believe we can live through it, at all events it demands an earnest effort on the part of all to correct it. And if pecuniary greed can be made to aid us in such effort, let us be thankful that so much good can be got out of pecuniary greed.

As to the new State government of Louisiana. Most certainly there is no worthy object in getting up a piece of machinery merely to pay salaries and give political consideration to certain men. But it is a worthy object to again get Louisiana into proper practical relations with the nation, and we can never finish this if we never begin it. Much good work is already done, and surely nothing can be gained by throwing it away.

I do not wish either cotton or the new State government to take precedence of the military while the necessity for the military remains; but there is a strong public reason for treating each with so much favor as may not be substantially detrimental to the military.

Allow me a word of explanation in regard to the telegram which you kindly forwarded to Admiral Farragut for me.

That telegram was prompted by a piece of secret information inducing me to suspect that the use of a forged paper might be attempted on the admiral, in order to base a claim that we had raised our own blockade.

I am happy in the hope that you are almost well of your late and severe wound.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Canisius, Theodore.

Springfield, May 17, 1859.

Dr. Theodore Canisius.

Dear Sir: Your note asking, in behalf of yourself and other German citizens, whether I am for or against the constitutional provision in regard to naturalized citizens, lately adopted by Massachusetts, and whether I am for or against a fusion of the Republicans, and other opposition elements, for the canvass of 1860, is received.

Massachusetts is a sovereign and independent State; and it is no privilege of mine to scold her for what she does. Still, if from what she has done an inference is sought to be drawn as to what I would do, I may without impropriety speak out. I say, then, that, as I understand the Massachusetts provision, I am against its adoption in Illinois, or in any other place where I have a right to oppose it. Understanding the spirit of our institutions to aim at the elevation of men, I am opposed to whatever tends to degrade them. I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed negro; and I should be strangely inconsistent if I could favor any

project for curtailing the existing rights of white men, even though born in different lands, and speaking different languages from myself. As to the matter of fusion, I am for it, if it can be had on Republican grounds; and I am not for it on any other terms. A fusion on any other terms would be as foolish as unprincipled. It would lose the whole North, while the common enemy would still carry the whole South. The question of men is a different one. There are good patriotic men and able statesmen in the South whom I would cheerfully support, if they would now place themselves on Republican ground, but I am against letting down the Republican standard a hair's-breadth.

I have written this hastily, but I believe it answers your questions substantially.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Memorandum.*]

Write Canisius that in view of our own aspirants we cannot find a place for a military officer of high rank from abroad.

Better send the account of the explosive material to Captain Dahlgren.

A. L.

October 25, 1862.

CAPEN, F. L.

[*Indorsement on Letter.*]

It seems to me Mr. Capen knows nothing about the weather in advance. He told me three days ago that it would not rain again till the 30th

of April or 1st of May. It is raining now, and has been for ten hours. I cannot spare any more time to Mr. Capen.

A. Lincoln.

April 28, 1863.

CARNEY, THOMAS.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 21, 1863.

His Excellency, Governor Thomas Carney, Topeka, Kansas:

Yours dated Pittsburg, the 19th instant, is received.

The day after you were with me, I wrote a note to the Secretary of War, asking him to place you on the same ground with all other governors of loyal States as to the appointment of military officers. In reply to this, he verbally told me, when I next met him, that he had never placed you on any other ground—that the forces in regard to which you and General Blunt have a controversy were raised on special authority from the War Department, given before you were governor, and that the officers were commissioned by him (the Secretary of War) according to the original authority; and that he never had required you to commission officers nominated by General Blunt.

The like of this has been done in some other States, as I remember.

As to leaving no part of Kansas in Blunt's department, the thing should not be hastily done. He, with his command, is now in the field south of Kansas; and while I do not know how much what you desire might interfere with his sup-

plies, it is very certain that he cannot now be interfering with you.

It is my purpose to take care that he shall not any more take persons charged with civil crimes out of the custody of the courts, and turn them over to mobs to be hanged.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement of Letter Dated May 13, 1864.*]

The within letter, is, to my mind, so obviously intended as a page for a political record, as to be difficult to answer in a straightforward, businesslike way. The merits of the Kansas people need not to be argued to me. They are just as good as any other loyal and patriotic people, and as such, to the best of my ability I have always treated them, and intend to treat them. It is not my recollection that I said to you Senator Lane would probably oppose raising troops in Kansas because it would confer patronage upon you. What I did say was, that he would probably oppose it because he and you were in a mood of each opposing whatever the other should propose. I did argue generally, too, that in my opinion there is not a more foolish or demoralizing way of conducting a political rivalry than these fierce and bitter struggles for patronage.

As to your demand that I will accept or reject your proposition to furnish troops, made to me yesterday, I have to say I took the proposition under advisement, in good faith, as I believe you know; that you can withdraw it if you wish; but while it remains before me, I shall neither

accept nor reject it until, with reference to the public interest, I shall feel that I am ready.

Yours truly,

May 14, 1864. A. Lincoln.

Chandler, Zachariah.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 20, 1863.

Hon. Zachariah Chandler.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 15th, marked "private," was received to-day. I have seen Governor Morgan and Thurlow Weed, separately, but not together, within the last ten days; but neither of them mentioned the forthcoming message, or said anything, so far as I can remember, which brought the thought of the message to my mind. I am very glad the elections this autumn have gone favorably, and that I have not, by native depravity or under evil influences, done anything bad enough to prevent the good result. I hope to "stand firm" enough to not go backward, and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Chaplains in Hospitals.

[See Goss, G. G.]

Chase, Salmon P.

[See Galloway, Samuel, July 28, 1859, and Mar. 24, 1860.]

Springfield, Illinois, May 26, 1860.

Hon. S. P. Chase.

My dear Sir: It gave me great pleasure to

receive yours mistakenly dated May 17. Holding myself the humblest of all whose names were before the convention, I feel in especial need of the assistance of all; and I am glad—very glad—of the indication that you stand ready. It is a great consolation that so nearly all—all except Mr. Bates and Mr. Clay, I believe—of those distinguished and able men are already in high position to do service in the common cause.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, December 31, 1860.

Hon. Salmon P. Chase.

My dear Sir: In these troublous times I would much like a conference with you. Please visit me here at once.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, May 6, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: Mr. French S. Evans, the bearer of this, thinks there is an appraisership still vacant at Baltimore, and if so, I very sincerely wish you would give it to him. I have been greatly—I may say grievously—disappointed and disobliged by Mr. Corkran's refusal to make Mr. Evans deputy naval officer, as I requested him to do.

A point must be strained to give Mr. Evans a situation.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, May 8, 1861.
Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: I am told there is an office in your department, called "The Superintending Architect of the Treasury Department, connected with the Bureau of Construction," which is now held by a man of the name of Young, and wanted by a gentleman of the name of Christopher Adams.

Ought Mr. Young to be removed, and if yea, ought Mr. Adams to be appointed? Mr. Adams is magnificently recommended; but the great point in his favor is that Thurlow Weed and Horace Greeley join in recommending him. I suppose the like never happened before, and never will again; so that it is now or never. What say you?

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, May 9, 1861.
Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: Mr. James N. Muller wishes to be supervising inspector of steamboats for the district of Baltimore. I am somewhat interested for him, and as the place is in your department, if you will look into the question of his qualification for the place, and shall be satisfied with him, I will appoint him—no matter how soon.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, May 10, 1861.
Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: I have felt myself obliged to

refuse the post-office at this place to my old friend, Nathan Sargent, which wounds him, and consequently me, very deeply. He now says there is an office in your department, called the "Commissioner of Customs," which the incumbent, a Mr. Ingham, wishes to vacate. I will be much obliged if you agree for me to appoint Mr. Sargent to this place.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Writing on May 18, 1861, to Secretary Chase of a certain lawyer, against whose appointment to office the objection of dishonesty had been raised, Mr. Lincoln said:

"At length, when I was, as it were, in the very act of appointing him, Mr. —— made a general charge of dishonesty against him. I pressed him for particulars, and it turned out that Mr. D—— in his business as a lawyer had got some printing done for his clients, becoming personally responsible for the work, and had not paid for it when dunned. While this, if true, is certainly not to be commended, I believe the like might, in some cases, be proven upon me. They are a class of debts which our clients ought to pay, and when we are personally dunned for them we sometimes hang fire. Besides, Mr. D—— went far toward a satisfactory explanation of one case; and while Mr. —— intimated that there were other cases, he did not specify them.

"I consider that the charge of dishonesty has failed; and it now seems to me more difficult to change my purpose than if the charge had never been made.

"Yours as ever,

"A. Lincoln."

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 10, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: Thomas H. Campbell, bearer of this, has several times been our auditor of State, and I personally know him to be an honest man, of thorough business capacity. He is here now to do something in adjusting the accounts of the State and the United States growing out of the war. He is thoroughly disinterested, not even receiving pay for what he does. No man can be more safely trusted. I beg you to afford him all proper facilities, with perfect assurance that no confidence reposed in him will be abused.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 25, 1862.

Secretary Chase, Fredericksburg, Virginia:

It now appears that Banks got safely into Winchester last night, and is this morning retreating on Harper's Ferry. This justifies the inference that he is pressed by numbers superior to his own. I think it not improbable that Ewell, Jackson, and Johnson are pouring through the gap they made day before yesterday at Front Royal, making a dash northward. It will be a very valuable and very honorable service for General McDowell to cut them off. I hope he will put all possible energy and speed into the effort.

A. Lincoln.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury:

Might not Mr. Bouligny be appointed surveyor of the port of New Orleans? If there be no objection, please send nomination.

A. Lincoln.

July 14, 1862.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 18, 1862.

My dear Sir: Mr. Senator Doolittle informs me that the Wisconsin delegation have unanimously recommended persons for assessors and collectors throughout their State, and that the paper showing this is filed with you. If so, I am in favor of adopting their "slate" at once, and so disposing of one State.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, August 7, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: I have signed and herewith [*return*] the papers sent yesterday for Vermont, New Hampshire, and Michigan, except in the three cases of departure from the congressional recommendations, which, with the brief, I hold to examine a little.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 8, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

Sir: I have signed the paper forming the districts for Rhode Island and Connecticut, and herewith return it. Also two of the commis-

sions for Connecticut; the others are fiercely contested.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 14, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

Sir: I have signed and herewith return the tax commissions for Connecticut, except two, in which I substituted Henry Hammond for Rufus S. Mather, and David F. Hollister for Frederick S. Wildman.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 14, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

Sir: I have signed and herewith send the New Jersey tax commissions, so far as laid before me.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 7, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

Dear Sir: Please send me the latest "Picayune" and "True Delta" you can lay your hands upon.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 25, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

Dear Sir: Please remember to confer with

the Secretary of the Interior, so as to clear the discrepancy as to amounts derived from sale of public lands.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 5, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: With my understanding of the present condition of Missouri, and especially that part of it north of the Missouri River, I think the attached resolutions are reasonable. Have you anything to do with it, or does it belong exclusively to the Secretary of War? Please answer me, returning this note and resolutions to me.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[See SEWARD, WILLIAM H., Dec. 20, 1862.]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 23, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

Dear Sir: Unless you know some strong objection, please send me a nomination for Cuthbert Bullitt as collector of the customs at New Orleans. I wish to do this at once.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 2, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: I see an act under which an assistant collector of the port of New York is

to be appointed. Nobody has applied to me for it. Have you any applications or any particular wishes upon the subject?

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 2, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: After much reflection, and with a good deal of pain that it is adverse to your wish, I have concluded that it is not best to renominate Mr. Howard for collector of internal revenue at Hartford, Connecticut. Senator Dixon, residing at Hartford, and Mr. Loomis, representative of the district, join in recommending Edward Goodman for the place, and, so far, no one has presented a different man. I will thank you, therefore, to send me a nomination at once for Mr. Goodman.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 2, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: Your note in relation to the collectorship at Hartford is just received. It is a little difficult for me to read; but, as I make it out, the matter is now temporarily suspended by agreement of yourself and Senator Dixon; and with which, of course, I am satisfied.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 27, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

Dear Sir: Governor Dickinson's business was rather with you than with me. His friend with him, Edward J. Westcott, has been trading at Newbern, and is hindered from renewing his business there. Please oblige the governor and Mr. Westcott so far as you consistently can.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, May 8, 1863.

Hon. Salmon P. Chase.

My dear Sir: I address this to you personally rather than officially, because of the nature of the case. My mind is made up to remove Victor Smith as collector of the customs at the Puget Sound district. Yet in doing this I do not decide that the charges against him are true. I only decide that the degree of dissatisfaction with him there is too great for him to be retained. But I believe he is your personal acquaintance and friend, and if you desire it I will try to find some other place for him.

Yours as ever,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, May 13, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: I return the letters of General Garfield and Mr. Flanders. I am sorry to know the general's pet expedition, under Colonel Streight, has already been captured. Whether it

had paid for itself, as he hoped, I do not know. If you think it proper to fill the agency mentioned by Mr. Flanders, by all means let Mr. Flanders be the man.

Please send me over the commission for Lewis C. Gunn, as you recommended, for collector of customs at Puget Sound.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, May 27, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: The office of second comptroller is vacant by the death of Mr. Cutts. Of course I wish your concurrence whenever I shall fill it. I believe the only applicants—whose papers are now before me—are Augustin Chester, late of Connecticut, now of Chicago, and John M. Broadhead, of this city. I herewith inclose their papers to you. I believe they are both competent and worthy gentlemen.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, June 25, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: Hon. William Kellogg will tell you plainly what he wants; and I wish him obliged so far as you can consistently do it. Please strain a point for him, if you do not have to strain it too far.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Draft of Letter.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 2, 1863.

Hon. Salmon P. Chase.

My dear Sir: Knowing your great anxiety that the Emancipation Proclamation shall now be applied to certain parts of Virginia and Louisiana which were exempted from it last January, I state briefly what appear to me to be difficulties in the way of such a step. The original proclamation has no constitutional or legal justification, except as a military measure. The exemptions were made because the military necessity did not apply to the exempted localities. Nor does that necessity apply to them now any more than it did then. If I take the step, must I not do so without the argument of military necessity, and so without any argument except the one that I think the measure politically expedient and morally right? Would I not thus give up all footing upon Constitution or law? Would I not thus be in the boundless field of absolutism? Could this pass unnoticed or unresisted? Could it fail to be perceived that without any further stretch I might do the same in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, and even change any law in any State? Would not many of our own friends shrink away appalled? Would it not lose us the elections, and with them the very cause we seek to advance?

[*A. Lincoln.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, October 26, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: The writer of the accompany-

ing letter is one of Mrs. Lincoln's numerous cousins. He is a grandson of "Milliken's Bend," near Vicksburg—that is, a grandson of the man who gave name to Milliken's Bend. His father was a brother to Mrs. Lincoln's mother. I know not a thing about his loyalty beyond what he says. Supposing he is loyal, can any of his requests be granted, and if any, which of them?

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 17, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury:

My dear Sir: I expected to see you here at Cabinet meeting, and to say something about going to Gettysburg. There will be a train to take and return us. The time for starting is not yet fixed, but when it shall be I will notify you.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[See ANDREWS —, Jan. 7, 1864.]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 11, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: I am receiving letters and despatches indicating an expectation that Mr. Barney is to leave the Custom House at New York. Have you anything on the subject?

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 28, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: Herewith I return this proof-

sheet of the new rules. I suggest two points, but do not urge them. First, that as the trust and emoluments of the agents are to be increased, should not their bonds be increased? Secondly, might it not be well to fix a maximum, as is sometimes done in acts of Congress, beyond which the one per cent. compensation shall not go in a year?

If the increase of business should necessitate the appointment of an additional agent, I would be glad for Charles K. Hawkes to be appointed. He is one of the three so favorably mentioned by the treasury and other officers at New Orleans, in the letter I read in your hearing twice or thrice, I believe. I have some reason to believe it would please General Banks, though he has not said so, that I have heard. I *have* heard that he and General Banks are old acquaintances and friends.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
February 12, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: I have felt considerable anxiety concering the Custom House at New York. Mr. Barney has suffered no abatement of my confidence in his honor and integrity; and yet I am convinced that he has ceased to be master of his position. A man by the name of Bailey, whom I am unconscious of ever having seen, or even having heard of except in this connection, expects to be, and even now assumes to be, collector *de facto,* while Mr. Barney remains nominally so. This Mr. Bailey, as I understand,

having been summoned as a witness to testify before a committee of the House of Representatives which purposed investigating the affairs of the New York Custom House, took occasion to call on the chairman in advance, and to endeavor to smother the investigation, saying among other things, that whatever might be developed, the President would take no action, and the committee would thereby be placed unpleasantly. The public interest cannot fail to suffer in the hands of this unresponsible and unscrupulous man. I propose sending Mr. Barney minister to Portugal, as evidence of my continued confidence in him; and I further propose appointing —— collector of the customs at New York. I wrote the draft of this letter two weeks ago, but delayed sending it for a reason which I will state when I see you.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Treasury Department, February 15, 1864.
Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: I have just called here to see you on the matter mentioned Saturday, and am pained to learn you are suffering too much to be out. I hope you will soon be relieved; meanwhile have no uneasiness as to the thing to which I am alluding, as I shall do nothing in it until I shall [*have*] fully conferred with you.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 20, 1864.
Hon. Secretary of the Treasury:

My dear Sir: Herewith I return the affidavit

you handed me. In glancing over it once, I do not perceive anything necessarily inconsistent with the practice of detectives and others engaged in the business of "rascal catching"; but a closer examination might show it. It seems to me that August, the month within which the affiant fixes his first interview with Hanscomb, was really before Hanscomb left Boston and came to New York.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 23, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: Yours of yesterday in relation to the paper issued by Senator Pomeroy was duly received; and I write this note merely to say I will answer a little more fully when I can find time to do so.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 29, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: I would have taken time to answer yours of the 2d sooner, only that I did not suppose any evil could result from the delay, especially as, by a note, I promptly acknowledged the receipt of yours, and promised a fuller answer. Now, on consideration, I find there is really very little to say. My knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's letter having been made public came to me only the day you wrote, but I had, in spite of myself, known of its existence several

days before. I have not yet read it, and I think I shall not. I was not shocked or surprised by the appearance of the letter, because I had had knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's committee, and of secret issues which I supposed came from it, and of secret agents who I supposed were sent out by it, for several weeks. I have known just as little of these things as my friends have allowed me to know. They bring the documents to me, but I do not read them; they tell me what they think fit to tell me, but I do not inquire for more. I fully concur with you that neither of us can be justly held responsible for what our respective friends may do without our instigation or countenance; and I assure you, as you have assured me, that no assault has been made upon you by my instigation or with my countenance. Whether you shall remain at the head of the Treasury Department is a question which I will not allow myself to consider from any standpoint other than my judgment of the public service, and, in that view, I do not perceive occasion for a change.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 4, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: In consequence of a call Mr. Villard makes on me, having a note from you to him, I am induced to say I have no wish for the publication of the correspondence between yourself and me in relation to the Pomeroy circular—in fact rather prefer to avoid an unnecessary exhibition—yet you are at liberty, without

in the least offending me, to allow the publication if you choose.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, May 18, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: Evening before last two gentlemen called on me and talked so earnestly about financial matters as to set me thinking of them a little more particularly since. And yet only one idea has occurred, which I think worth while even to suggest to you. It is this:

Suppose you change your five per cent. loan to six, allowing the holders of the fives already out to convert them into sixes, upon taking each an equal additional amount at six. You will understand better than I all the reasons *pro* and *con*, among which probably will be the rise of the rate of interest in Europe.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Washington, June 15, 1864.

Hon. S. P. Chase.

My dear Sir: The governor of Iowa and some of the members of Congress have [*given me*] a little embarrassment about the removal of a Mr. Atkinson, in your department, and the appointment to the place of a Mr. Sill, I think. They claim a promise, which I know I never made, except upon the condition that you desired the removal of Atkinson. Please help me a little. If you will write me a note that you do not wish Atkinson removed, that will end

the matter. On the contrary, if you do wish him removed, or even are indifferent about it, say so to me, accompanying your note with a nomination for Sill.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 28, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: Yours inclosing a blank nomination for Maunsell B. Field to be assistant treasurer at New York, was received yesterday. I cannot, without much embarrassment, make this appointment, principally because of Senator Morgan's very firm opposition to it. Senator Harris has not spoken to me on the subject, though I understand he is not averse to the appointment of Mr. Field, nor yet to any one of the three named by Senator Morgan, rather preferring of them, however, Mr. Hillhouse. Governor Morgan tells me he has mentioned the three names to you, to wit: R. M. Blatchford, Dudley S. Gregory, and Thomas Hillhouse. It will really oblige me if you will make choice among these three, or any other man that Senators Morgan and Harris will be satisfied with, and send me a nomination for him.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., June 28, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: When I received your note

this forenoon suggesting a verbal conversation in relation to the appointment of a successor to Mr. Cisco, I hesitated, because the difficulty does not, in the main part, lie within the range of a conversation between you and me. As the proverb goes, no man knows so well where the shoe pinches as he who wears it. I do not think Mr. Field a very proper man for the place, but I would trust your judgment and forego this were the greater difficulty out of the way. Much as I personally like Mr. Barney, it has been a great burden to me to retain him in his place when nearly all our friends in New York were directly or indirectly urging his removal. Then the appointment of Judge Hogeboom to be general appraiser brought me to, and has ever since kept me at, the verge of open revolt. Now the appointment of Mr. Field would precipitate me in it unless Senator Morgan and those feeling as he does, could be brought to concur in it. Strained as I already am at this point, I do not think I can make this appointment in the direction of still greater strain.

The testimonials of Mr. Field, with your accompanying notes, were duly received, and I am now waiting to see your answer from Mr. Cisco.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, June 30, 1864.

Hon. Salmon P. Chase.

My dear Sir: Your resignation of the office of Secretary of the Treasury sent me yesterday is accepted. Of all I have said in commendation of your ability and fidelity I have nothing to

unsay; and yet you and I have reached a point of mutual embarrassment in our official relations which it seems cannot be overcome or longer sustained consistently with the public service.

Your obedient servant,
A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., December 6, 1864.

To the Senate of the United States: I nominate Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, *vice* Roger B. Taney deceased.

Abraham Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 2, 1865.

Chief Justice Chase.

My dear Sir: Without your note of to-day, I should have felt assured that some sufficient reason had detained you.

Allow me to condole with you in the sad bereavement you mention.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Cheney, T. A.

Springfield, Illinois, August 14, 1860.

T. A. Cheney, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 10th is received, and for which I thank you. I would cheerfully answer your questions in regard to the fugitive-slave law were it not that I consider it would be both imprudent and contrary to the reasonable expectation of my friends for me to write or speak anything upon doctrinal points now.

Besides this, my published speeches contain nearly all I could willingly say. Justice and fairness to all, is the utmost I have said, or will say.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

CHEW, HENRY.

[*Order for Furniture.*]

My old friend Henry Chew, the bearer of this, is in a strait for some furniture to commence housekeeping. If any person will furnish him twenty-five dollars' worth, and he does not pay for it by the 1st of January next, I will.

A. Lincoln.

September 25, 1858.

Urbana, February 16, 1859.

Hon. A. Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois.

My dear Friend: I herewith inclose your order which you gave your friend Henry Chew. You will please send me a draft for the same and oblige yours,

S. Little.

CHEW, R. S.

Washington, April 6, 1861.

Sir: You will proceed directly to Charleston, South Carolina; and if, on your arrival there, the flag of the United States shall be flying over Fort Sumter, and the fort shall not have been attacked, you will procure an interview with Governor Pickens, and read to him as follows: "I am directed by the President of the United States to notify you to expect an attempt will be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only; and that, if such attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammuni-

tion will be made without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort."

After you shall have read this to Governor Pickens, deliver to him the copy of it herein inclosed, and retain this letter yourself.

But if, on your arrival at Charleston, you shall ascertain that Fort Sumter shall have been already evacuated, or surrendered by the United States force, or shall have been attacked by an opposing force, you will seek no interview with Governor Pickens, but return here forthwith.

Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.

Chicago "Journal," Editor of the.

Springfield, November 21, 1849.

Editor of the Chicago "Journal."

Dear Sir: Some person, probably yourself, has sent me the number of your paper containing an extract of a supposed speech of Mr. Linder, together with your editorial comments. As my name is mentioned both in the speech and in the comments, and as my attention is directed to the article by a special mark in the paper sent me, it is perhaps expected that I should take some notice of it. I have to say, then, that I was absent from before the commencement till after the close of the late session of the legislature, and that the fact of such a speech having been delivered never came to my knowledge till I saw a notice of your article in the "Illinois Journal," one day before your paper reached me. Had the intention of any Whig to deliver such a speech been known to me, I should, to the utmost of my ability, have endeavored to prevent it. When Mr. Butterfield was appointed Com-

missioner of the Land Office, I expected him to be an able and faithful officer, and nothing has since come to my knowledge disappointing that expectation. As to Mr. Ewing, his position has been one of great difficulty. I believe him, too, to be an able and faithful officer. A more intimate acquaintance with him would probably change the views of most of those who have complained of him.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

In the Illinois legislature, Mr. Lindner had said:

". . . He should speak not as a disappointed politician, but as an independent working Whig, who had never applied for an office in his life; and the individual of whom he desired to speak was the Hon. Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, minister of the Home Department,—a man who was unsuited to wield the immense patronage placed in his hands, from the fact that he was hostile to all that was popular, having no sympathies with the people, and the people no sympathies with him; the man who disposed of the offices and honors at his disposal more like a prince than the minister and servant of a republican people. I speak plainly, sir, for I want what I say to be published, that it may reach the individual for whom it is intended,—the man who could disregard the almost unanimous wish of the people—the Whig people of Illinois,—and overlook the claims of such men as Lincoln, Edwards, and Morrison, and appoint a man known as an anti-war federalist of 1812, and one who avails himself of every opportunity to express his contempt of the people—a man who could not, as against any one of his competitors, have obtained one twentieth of the votes of Illinois. (I refer, sir, to Justin Butterfield, Commissioner of the General Land Office.) Such a man as Ewing has no right to rule the cabinet of a republican president. He is universally odious, and stinks in the nostrils of the nation. He is as a lump of ice, an unfeeling, unsympathizing aristocrat, a rough, imperious, uncouth, and unamiable man. Such a minis-

ter, in a four years' administration, would ruin the popularity of forty presidents and as many heroes. Sir, is it wonderful that the popular elections are turning against us? I am not at all surprised at it. If General Taylor retains him two years longer in his cabinet, he will find himself without a corporal's guard in the popular branch of our national legislature."

Chicago "Times."

[See Arnold, I. N., and Washington "Chronicle."]

Choate, Joseph H.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 19, 1864.

Joseph H. Choate, Esq.

My dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your kind invitation to be present at the annual festival of the New England Society to commemorate the landing of the Pilgrims, on Thursday, the 22d of this month.

My duties will not allow me to avail myself of your kindness.

I cannot but congratulate you and the country, however, upon the spectacle of devoted unanimity presented by the people at home, the citizens that form our marching columns, and the citizens that fill our squadrons on the sea, all animated by the same determination to complete the work our fathers began and transmitted.

The work of the Plymouth emigrants was the glory of their age. While we reverence their memory, let us not forget how vastly greater is our opportunity. I am, very truly,

Your obedient servant,
A. Lincoln.

Chrisman, John.

Springfield, Illinois, September 21, 1860.
John Chrisman, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 13th was duly received. I have no doubt that you and I are related. My grandfather's Christian name was "Abraham." He had four brothers—Isaac, Jacob, John, and Thomas. They were born in Pennsylvania, and my grandfather, and some, if not all, the others, in early life removed to Rockingham County, Virginia. There my father —named Thomas—was born. From there my grandfather removed to Kentucky, and was killed by the Indians about the year 1784. His brother Thomas, who was my father's uncle, also removed to Kentucky—to Fayette County, I think—where, as I understand, he lived and died. I close by repeating I have no doubt you and I are related.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Clay, Cassius M.

Springfield, Illinois, July 20, 1860.
Hon. Cassius M. Clay.

My dear Sir: I see by the papers, and also learn from Mr. Nicolay, who saw you at Terre Haute, that you are filling a list of speaking-appointments in Indiana. I sincerely thank you for this, and I shall be still further obliged if you will, at the close of the tour, drop me a line giving your impressions of our prospects in that State.

Still more will you oblige me if you will allow

me to make a list of appointments in our State, commencing, say, at Marshall, in Clark County, and thence south and west along over the Wabash and Ohio River border.

In passing let me say that at Rockport you will be in the county within which I was brought up from my eighth year, having left Kentucky at that point of my life.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

On August 10, 1860, Mr. Lincoln wrote from Springfield, Ill., to Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky, proposing changes in Clay's itinerary in a speechmaking tour of Illinois. He concludes:

"As to the inaugural, I have not yet commenced getting it up; while it affords me great pleasure to be able to say the cliques have not yet commenced upon me.

"Yours very truly,
"A. Lincoln."

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 12, 1862.

Hon. Cassius M. Clay.

My dear Sir: I learn that you would not dislike returning to Russia as minister plenipotentiary. You were not recalled for any fault of yours, but, as I understood, it was done at your own request. Of course there is no personal objection to your reappointment. Still, General Cameron cannot be recalled except at his request.

Some conversation passing between him and myself renders it due that he should not resign without free notice of my intention to appoint you. If he resign with such full knowledge and

understanding, I shall be quite willing, and even gratified, to again send you to Russia.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[CLAY, CHRISTOPHER F. See FIELD, CHRISTOPHER F.]

CLAY, CLEMENT C., AND OTHERS.

[*Safe-Conduct.*]

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.

The President of the United States directs that the four persons whose names follow, to wit: Hon. Clement C. Clay, Hon. Jacob Thompson, Prof. James B. Holcombe, George N. Sanders, shall have safe conduct to the city of Washington in company with the Hon. Horace Greeley, and shall be exempt from arrest or annoyance of any kind from any officer of the United States during their journey to the said city of Washington.

By order of the President.

John Hay, Major and A. A. G.

Springfield, Illinois, August 29, 1842.

Hon. Henry Clay, Lexington, Kentucky.

Dear Sir: We hear you are to visit Indianapolis, Indiana, on the 5th of October next. If our information in this is correct, we hope you will not deny us the pleasure of seeing you in our State. We are aware of the toil necessarily incident to a journey by one circumstanced as you are; but once you have embarked, as you have already determined to do, the toil would not be greatly augmented by extending the journey to our capital. The season of the year will be most favorable for good roads and pleasant weather; and although we cannot but believe you would be highly gratified with such a visit to the prairie-land, the pleasure it would give us, and thousands such as we, is beyond all question. You have never visited Illinois, or at least this portion of it; and should you now yield to our request, we promise you such a reception as shall be worthy of the man on whom are now turned the fondest hopes of a great and suffering nation.

Please inform us at the earliest convenience whether we may expect you.

Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

A. G. Henry, A. T. Bledsoe,
C. Birchall, A. Lincoln,
J. M. Cabaniss, Robt. Irwin,
P. A. Saunders, J. M. Allen,
J. N. Francis,

Executive Committee, "Clay Club."

[*Clay declined the invitation with thanks.*]

[See BROWN, J. N., Oct. 18, 1858.]

CLAY, JOHN M.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 9, 1862.

Mr. John M. Clay.

My dear Sir: The snuff-box you sent, with the accompanying note, was received yesterday. Thanks for this memento of your great and patriotic father. Thanks also for the assurance that, in these days of dereliction, you remain true to his principles. In the concurrent sentiment of your venerable mother, so long the partner of his bosom and his honors, and lingering now where he was but for the call to rejoin him where he is, I recognize his voice, speaking, as it ever spoke, for the Union, the Constitution, and the freedom of mankind.

Your obedient servant,
A. Lincoln.

CLAY, THOMAS H.

War Department, October 8, 1862

Thomas H. Clay, Cincinnati, Ohio:

You cannot have reflected seriously when you ask that I shall order General Morgan's com-

mand to Kentucky as a favor because they have marched from Cumberland Gap. The precedent established by it would evidently break up the whole army. Buell's old troops, now in pursuit of Bragg, have done more hard marching recently; and, in fact, if you include marching and fighting, there are scarcely any old troops east or west of the mountains that have not done as hard service. I sincerely wish war was an easier and pleasanter business than it is; but it does not admit of holidays. On Morgan's command, where it is now sent, as I understand, depends the question whether the enemy will get to the Ohio River in another place.

A. Lincoln.

CLAYTON, JOHN M.

Washington, March 10, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of State.

Sir: There are several applicants for the office of United States Marshal for the District of Illinois, among the most prominent of whom are Benjamin Bond, Esq., of Carlyle, and ——— Thomas, Esq., of Galena. Mr. Bond I know to be personally every way worthy of the office; and he is very numerously and most respectably recommended. His papers I send to you; and I solicit for his claims a full and fair consideration.

Having said this much, I add that in my individual judgment the appointment of Mr. Thomas would be the better.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsed on Mr. Bond's papers.*]

In this and the accompanying envelop are the recommendations of about two hundred good citizens of all parts of Illinois, that Benjamin Bond be appointed marshal for that district. They include the names of nearly all our Whigs who now are, or have ever been, members of the State legislature, besides forty-six of the Democratic members of the present legislature, and many other good citizens. I add that from personal knowledge I consider Mr. Bond every way worthy of the office, and qualified to fill it. Holding the individual opinion that the appointment of a different gentleman would be better, I ask especial attention and consideration for his claims, and for the opinions expressed in his favor by those over whom I claim no superiority.

Codding, I.

Springfield, November 27, 1854.

I. Codding, Esq.

Dear Sir: Your note of the 13th requesting my attendance at the Republican State Central Committee, on the 17th instant at Chicago, was, owing to my absence from home, received on the evening of that day (17th) only. While I have pen in hand allow me to say I have been perplexed some to understand why my name was placed on that committee. I was not consulted on the subject, nor was I apprised of the appointment until I discovered it by accident two or three weeks afterward. I suppose my opposition to the principle of slavery is as strong as that of any member of the Republican party; but I have also supposed that the extent

to which I feel authorized to carry that opposition, practically, was not at all satisfactory to that party. The leading men who organized that party were present on the 4th of October at the discussion between Douglas and myself at Springfield, and had full opportunity to not misunderstand my position. Do I misunderstand them? Please write and inform me.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

COLFAX, SCHUYLER.

Springfield, Ill., July 6, 1859.

Hon. Schuyler Colfax.

My dear Sir: I much regret not seeing you while you were here among us. Before learning that you were to be at Jacksonville on the 4th, I had given my word to be at another place. Besides a strong desire to make your personal acquaintance, I was anxious to speak with you on politics a little more fully than I can well do in a letter. My main object in such conversation would be to hedge against divisions in the Republican ranks generally, and particularly for the contest of 1860. The point of danger is the temptation in different localities to "platform" for something which will be popular just there, but which, nevertheless, will be a firebrand elsewhere, and especially in a national convention. As instances, the movement against foreigners in Massachusetts; in New Hampshire, to make obedience to the fugitive-slave law punishable as a crime; in Ohio, to repeal the fugitive-slave law; and squatter sovereignty, in Kansas. In these things there is explosive matter enough to blow up half a dozen national

conventions, if it gets into them; and what gets very rife outside of conventions is very likely to find its way into them. What is desirable, if possible, is that in every local convocation of Republicans a point should be made to avoid everything which will disturb Republicans elsewhere. Massachusetts Republicans should have looked beyond their noses, and then they could not have failed to see that tilting against foreigners would ruin us in the whole Northwest. New Hampshire and Ohio should forbear tilting against the fugitive-slave law in such a way as to utterly overwhelm us in Illinois with the charge of enmity to the Constitution itself. Kansas, in her confidence that she can be saved to freedom on "squatter sovereignty," ought not to forget that to prevent the spread and nationalization of slavery is a national concern, and must be attended to by the nation. In a word, in every locality we should look beyond our noses; and at least say nothing on points where it is probable we shall disagree. I write this for your eye only; hoping, however, if you see danger as I think I do, you will do what you can to avert it. Could not suggestions be made to leading men in the State and congressional conventions, and so avoid, to some extent at least, these apples of discord?

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 8, 1861.

Hon. Schuyler Colfax.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 6th has just been handed me by Mr. Baker, of Minnesota. When I said to you the other day that I

wished to write you a letter, I had reference, of course, to my not having offered you a cabinet appointment. I meant to say, and now do say, you were most honorably and amply recommended, and a tender of the appointment was not withheld, in any part, because of anything happening in 1858.* Indeed, I should have decided as I did easier than I did, had that matter never existed. I had partly made up my mind in favor of Mr. Smith—not conclusively, of course—before your name was mentioned in that connection. When you were brought forward I said, "Colfax is a young man, is already in position, is running a brilliant career, and is sure of a bright future in any event; with Smith, it is now or never." I considered either abundantly competent, and decided on the ground I have stated. I now have to beg that you will not do me the injustice to suppose for a moment that I remember anything against you in malice.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

COLLAMER, JACOB.

Springfield, Illinois, April 7, 1849.

Hon. Postmaster-General.

Dear Sir: I recommend that Abner Y. Ellis be appointed postmaster at this place, whenever there shall be a vacancy. J. R. Diller, the present incumbent, I cannot say has failed in the proper discharge of any of the duties of the office. He, however, has been an active partisan in opposition to us.

* In the Senatorial conflict between Lincoln and Douglas, Colfax favored the latter.

Located at the seat of government of the State, he has been, for part if not the whole of the time he has held the office, a member of the Democratic State Central Committee, signing his name to their addresses and manifestos; and has been, as I understand, reappointed by Mr. Polk since General Taylor's election. These are the facts of the case as I understand them, and I give no opinion of mine as to whether he should or should not be removed. My wish is that the Department may adopt some proper general rule for such cases, and that Mr. Diller may not be made an exception to it, one way or the other.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

P. S. This office, with its delivery, is entirely within my district; so that Colonel Baker, the other Whig representative, claims no voice in the appointment.

Executive Mansion, March 12, 1861.

My dear Sir: God help me. It is said I have offended you. I hope you will tell me how.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Collamer replied: "I am entirely unconscious that you have in any way offended me. I cherish no sentiment towards you but that of kindness and confidence." This letter Lincoln returned with the endorsement: "Very glad to know that I haven't.

"A. Lincoln."

Confederate Peace Commissioners.

[See Beecher, Henry Ward, and Blair, Frank P., Sr.]

CONKLING, F. A., AND OTHERS.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 3, 1864.

Hon. F. A. Conkling and Others.

Gentlemen: Your letter inviting me to be present at a mass-meeting of loyal citizens to be held at New York on the fourth instant, for the purpose of expressing gratitude to Lieutenant-General Grant for his signal services, was received yesterday. It is impossible for me to attend.

I approve, nevertheless, whatever may tend to strengthen and sustain General Grant and the noble armies now under his direction. My previous high estimate of General Grant has been maintained and heightened by what has occurred in the remarkable campaign he is now conducting, while the magnitude and difficulty of the task before him do not prove less than I expected. He and his brave soldiers are now in the midst of their great trial, and I trust that at your meeting you will so shape your good words that they may turn to men and guns, moving to his and their support.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

CONKLING, JAMES C.

[*Private.*]

War Department,
Washington City, D. C., August 17, 1863.

My Dear Conkling: I cannot leave here now. Herewith is a letter instead. You are one of the best public readers. I have but one sug-

gestion—read it very slowly. And now God bless you, and all good Union men.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 26, 1863.

Hon. James C. Conkling.

My dear Sir: Your letter inviting me to attend a mass-meeting of unconditional Union men, to be held at the capital of Illinois on the 3d day of September, has been received. It would be very agreeable to me to thus meet my old friends at my own home, but I cannot just now be absent from here so long as a visit there would require.

The meeting is to be of all those who maintain unconditional devotion to the Union; and I am sure my old political friends will thank me for tendering, as I do, the nation's gratitude to those other noble men whom no partisan malice or partisan hope can make false to the nation's life.

There are those who are dissatisfied with me. To such I would say: You desire peace, and you blame me that we do not have it. But how can we attain it? There are but three conceivable ways: First, to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. This I am trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far we are agreed. If you are not for it, a second way is to give up the Union. I am against this. Are you for it? If you are, you should say so plainly. If you are not for force, nor yet for dissolution, there only remains some imaginable compromise. I do not believe any compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union is now possible. All

I learn leads to a directly opposite belief. The strength of the rebellion is its military, its army. That army dominates all the country and all the people within its range. Any offer of terms made by any man or men within that range, in opposition to that army, is simply nothing for the present, because such man or men have no power whatever to enforce their side of a compromise, if one were made with them.

To illustrate: Suppose refugees from the South and peace men of the North get together in convention and frame and proclaim a compromise embracing a restoration of the Union. In what way can that compromise be used to keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania? Meade's army can keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania, and, I think, can ultimately drive it out of existence. But no paper compromise to which the controllers of Lee's army are not agreed can at all affect that army. In an effort at such compromise we should waste time which the enemy would improve to our disadvantage; and that would be all. A compromise, to be effective, must be made either with those who control the rebel army, or with the people first liberated from the domination of that army by the success of our own army. Now, allow me to assure you that no word or intimation from that rebel army, or from any of the men controlling it, in relation to any peace compromise, has ever come to my knowledge or belief. All charges and insinuations to the contrary are deceptive and groundless. And I promise you that if any such proposition shall hereafter come, it shall not be rejected and kept a secret from you. I freely acknowledge myself the servant of the

people, according to the bond of service—the United States Constitution—and that, as such, I am responsible to them.

But to be plain. You are dissatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that subject. I certainly wish that all men could be free, while I suppose you do not. Yet, I have neither adopted nor proposed any measure which is not consistent with even your view, provided you are for the Union. I suggested compensated emancipation, to which you replied you wished not to be taxed to buy negroes. But I had not asked you to be taxed to buy negroes, except in such way as to save you from greater taxation to save the Union exclusively by other means.

You dislike the emancipation proclamation, and perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think the Constitution invests its commander-in-chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said—if so much—is that slaves are property. Is there—has there ever been—any question that by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever taking it helps us, or hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies' property when they cannot use it; and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes and non-combatants, male and female.

But the proclamation, as law, either is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid, it needs no retraction. If it is valid, it cannot be retracted any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think its retraction would operate favorably for the Union. Why better after the retraction than before the issue? There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation issued; the last one hundred days of which passed under an explicit notice that it was coming, unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance. The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us since the issue of the proclamation as before. I know, as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important successes, believe the emancipation policy and the use of the colored troops constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of these important successes could not have been achieved when it was but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders holding these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called Abolitionism, or with Republican party politics, but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit these opinions as being entitled to some weight against the objections often urged that emancipation and arming the blacks are unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith.

You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you; but no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively to

save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes.

I thought that in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in its resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought that whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers, leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motive, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept.

The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest for it. Nor yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, hewing their way right and left. The sunny South, too, in more colors than one, also lent a hand. On the spot, their part of the history was jotted down in black and white. The job was a great national one, and let none be banned who bore an honorable part in it. And while those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say that anything has been more bravely and well done than at Antietam, Murfreesboro', Gettysburg, and on many fields of lesser note. Nor must Uncle

Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present. Not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp, they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all: for the great republic—for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's vast future—thanks to all.

Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay, and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And then there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation, while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they strove to hinder it.

Still, let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, August 31, 1863.

Hon. James C. Conkling, Springfield, Ill.:

In my letter of the 26th insert between the

sentence ending "since the issue of the emancipation proclamation as before" and the next commencing "You say you will not fight, &c.," what follows below my signature hereto.

A. Lincoln.

"I know as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important successes, believe the emancipation policy, and the use of colored troops, constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of those important successes could not have been achieved when it was, but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders holding these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called abolitionism, or with Republican party politics, but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit these opinions as being entitled to some weight against the objections, often urged, that emancipation, and arming the blacks, are unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith."

Washington, September 3, 1863.

Hon. James C. Conkling, Springfield, Ill.:

I am mortified this morning to find a letter to you botched up in the Eastern papers, telegraphed from Chicago. How did this happen?

A. Lincoln.

Cook, B. C.

Springfield, Aug. 2, 1858.

Hon. B. C. Cook.

My dear Sir: I have a letter from a very true friend and intelligent man insisting that there

is a plan on foot in La Salle and Bureau to run Douglas republicans for Congress and for the Legislature in those counties, if they can only get the encouragement of our folks nominating pretty extreme abolitionists. Is it thought they will do nothing if our folks nominate men who are not very obnoxious to the charge of abolitionism? Please have your eye upon this.

Signs are looking pretty fair.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Corning, Erastus, and Others.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 12, 1863.

Hon. Erastus Corning and Others.

Gentlemen: Your letter of May 19, inclosing the resolutions of a public meeting held at Albany, New York, on the 16th of the same month, was received several days ago.

The resolutions, as I understand them, are resolvable into two propositions—first, the expression of a purpose to sustain the cause of the Union, to secure peace through victory, and to support the administration in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and, secondly, a declaration of censure upon the administration for supposed unconstitutional action, such as the making of military arrests. And from the two propositions a third is deduced, which is that the gentlemen composing the meeting are resolved on doing their part to maintain our common government and country, despite the folly or wickedness, as they may conceive, of any administration. This po-

sition is eminently patriotic, and as such I thank the meeting, and congratulate the nation for it. My own purpose is the same; so that the meeting and myself have a common object, and can have no difference, except in the choice of means or measures for effecting that object.

And here I ought to close this paper, and would close it if there were no apprehension that more injurious consequences than any merely personal to myself might follow the censures systematically cast upon me for doing what, in my view of duty, I could not forbear. The resolutions promise to support me in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and I have not knowingly employed, nor shall knowingly employ, any other. But the meeting, by their resolutions, assert and argue that certain military arrests, and proceedings following them, for which I am ultimately responsible, are unconstitutional. I think they are not. The resolutions quote from the Constitution the definition of treason, and also the limiting safeguards and guarantees therein provided for the citizen on trials for treason, and on his being held to answer for capital or otherwise infamous crimes, and in criminal prosecutions his right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury. They proceed to resolve "that these safeguards of the rights of the citizen against the pretensions of arbitrary power were intended more especially for his protection in times of civil commotion." And, apparently to demonstrate the proposition, the resolutions proceed: "They were secured substantially to the English people after years of protracted civil

war, and were adopted into our Constitution at the close of the revolution." Would not the demonstration have been better if it could have been truly said that these safeguards had been adopted and applied during the civil wars and during our revolution, instead of after the one and at the close of the other? I, too, am devotedly for them after civil war, and before civil war, and at all times, "except when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require" their suspension. The resolutions proceed to tell us that these safeguards "have stood the test of seventy-six years of trial under our republican system, under circumstances which show that while they constitute the foundation of all free government, they are the elements of the enduring stability of the republic." No one denies that they have so stood the test up to the beginning of the present rebellion, if we except a certain occurrence at New Orleans hereafter to be mentioned; nor does any one question that they will stand the same test much longer after the rebellion closes. But these provisions of the Constitution have no application to the case we have in hand, because the arrests complained of were not made for treason—that is, not for the treason defined in the Constitution, and upon the conviction of which the punishment is death—nor yet were they made to hold persons to answer for any capital or otherwise infamous crimes; nor were the proceedings following, in any constitutional or legal sense, "criminal prosecutions." The arrests were made on totally different grounds, and the proceedings following accorded with the grounds of the arrests. Let us consider the real case with

which we are dealing, and apply to it the parts of the Constitution plainly made for such cases.

Prior to my installation here it had been inculcated that any State had a lawful right to secede from the national Union, and that it would be expedient to exercise the right whenever the devotees of the doctrine should fail to elect a president to their own liking. I was elected contrary to their liking; and, accordingly, so far as it was legally possible, they had taken seven States out of the Union, had seized many of the United States forts, and had fired upon the United States flag, all before I was inaugurated, and, of course, before I had done any official act whatever. The rebellion thus begun soon ran into the present civil war; and, in certain respects, it began on very unequal terms between the parties. The insurgents had been preparing for it more than thirty years, while the government had taken no steps to resist them. The former had carefully considered all the means which could be turned to their account. It undoubtedly was a well-pondered reliance with them that in their own unrestricted effort to destroy Union, Constitution, and law, all together, the government would, in great degree, be restrained by the same Constitution and law from arresting their progress. Their sympathizers pervaded all departments of the government and nearly all communities of the people. From this material under cover of "liberty of speech," "liberty of the press," and *"habeas corpus,"* they hoped to keep on foot amongst us a most efficient corps of spies, informers, suppliers, and aiders and abettors of

their cause in a thousand ways. They knew that in times such as they were inaugurating, by the Constitution itself the *"habeas corpus"* might be suspended; but they also knew they had friends who would make a question as to who was to suspend it: meanwhile their spies and others might remain at large to help on their cause. Or if, as has happened, the Executive should suspend the writ without ruinous waste of time, instances of arresting innocent persons might occur, as are always likely to occur in such cases; and then a clamor could be raised in regard to this, which might be at least of some service to the insurgent cause. It needed no very keen perception to discover this part of the enemy's programme, so soon as by open hostilities their machinery was fairly put in motion. Yet, thoroughly imbued with a reverence for the guaranteed rights of individuals, I was slow to adopt the strong measures which by degrees I have been forced to regard as being within the exceptions of the Constitution, and as indispensable to the public safety. Nothing is better known to history than that the courts of justice are utterly incompetent in such cases. Civil courts are organized chiefly for trials of individuals, or, at most, a few individuals acting in concert—and this in quiet times, and on charges of crimes well defined in the law. Even in times of peace bands of horse-thieves and robbers frequently grow too numerous and powerful for the ordinary courts of justice. But what comparison, in numbers, have such bands ever borne to the insurgent sympathizers even in many of the loyal States? Again, a jury too frequently has at least one member more ready

to hang the panel than to hang the traitor. And yet again, he who dissuades one man from volunteering, or induces one soldier to desert, weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle. Yet this dissuasion or inducement may be so conducted as to be no defined crime of which any civil court would take cognizance.

Ours is a case of rebellion—so called by the resolutions before me—in fact, a clear, flagrant, and gigantic case of rebellion; and the provision of the Constitution that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it," is the provision which specially applies to our present case. This provision plainly attests the understanding of those who made the Constitution that ordinary courts of justice are inadequate to "cases of rebellion"—attests their purpose that, in such cases, men may be held in custody whom the courts, acting on ordinary rules, would discharge. *Habeas corpus* does not discharge men who are proved to be guilty of defined crime; and its suspension is allowed by the Constitution on purpose that men may be arrested and held who cannot be proved to be guilty of defined crime, "when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it."

This is precisely our present case—a case of rebellion wherein the public safety does require the suspension. Indeed, arrests by process of courts and arrests in cases of rebellion do not proceed altogether upon the same basis. The former is directed at the small percentage of ordinary and continuous perpetration of crime,

while the latter is directed at sudden and extensive uprisings aaginst the government, which, at most, will succeed or fail in no great length of time. In the latter case arrests are made not so much for what has been done, as for what probably would be done. The latter is more for the preventive and less for the vindictive than the former. In such cases the purposes of men are much more easily understood than in cases of ordinary crime. The man who stands by and says nothing when the peril of his government is discussed, cannot be misunderstood. If not hindered, he is sure to help the enemy; much more if he talks ambiguously—talks for his country with "buts," and "ifs" and "ands." Of how little value the constitutional provision I have quoted will be rendered if arrests shall never be made until defined crimes shall have been committed, may be illustrated by a few notable examples: General John C. Breckinridge, General Robert E. Lee, General Joseph E. Johnston, General John B. Magruder, General William B. Preston, General Simon B. Buckner, and Commodore Franklin Buchanan, now occupying the very highest places in the rebel war service, were all within the power of the government since the rebellion began, and were nearly as well known to be traitors then as now. Unquestionably if we had seized and held them, the insurgent cause would be much weaker. But no one of them had then committed any crime defined in the law. Every one of them, if arrested, would have been discharged on *habeas corpus* were the writ allowed to operate. In view of these and similar cases, I think the time not unlikely to come when I shall

be blamed for having made too few arrests rather than too many.

By the third resolution the meeting indicate their opinion that military arrests may be constitutional in localities where rebellion actually exists, but that such arrests are unconstitutional in localities where rebellion or insurrection does not actually exist. They insist that such arrests shall not be made "outside of the lines of necessary military occupation and the scenes of insurrection." Inasmuch, however, as the Constitution itself makes no such distinction, I am unable to believe that there is any such constitutional distinction. I concede that the class of arrests complained of can be constitutional only when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require them; and I insist that in such cases they are constitutional wherever the public safety does require them, as well in places to which they may prevent the rebellion extending, as in those where it may be already prevailing; as well where they may restrain mischievous interference with the raising and supplying of armies to suppress the rebellion, as where the rebellion may actually be; as well where they may restrain the enticing men out of the army, as where they would prevent mutiny in the army; equally constitutional at all places where they will conduce to the public safety as against the dangers of rebellion or invasion. Take the particular case mentioned by the meeting. It is asserted in substance, that Mr. Vallandigham was, by a military commander, seized and tried "for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting in criticism of the course of the administration, and in condemna-

tion of the military orders of the general." Now, if there be no mistake about this, if this assertion is the truth, and the whole truth, if there was no other reason for the arrest, then I concede that the arrest was wrong. But the arrest, as I understand, was made for a very different reason. Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops, to encourage desertions from the army, and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the administration or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends. He was warring upon the military, and this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon him. If Mr. Vallandigham was not damaging the military power of the country, then his arrest was made on mistake of fact, which I would be glad to correct on reasonably satisfactory evidence.

I understand the meeting whose resolutions I am considering to be in favor of suppressing the rebellion by military force—by armies. Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanction, this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when

effected by getting a father, or brother, or friend into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings till he is persuaded to write the soldier boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that, in such a case, to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy.

If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety requires them, which would not be constitutional when, in absence of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does not require them: in other words, that the Constitution is not in its application in all respects the same in cases of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety, as it is in times of profound peace and public security. The Constitution itself makes the distinction, and I can no more be persuaded that the government can constitutionally take no strong measures in time of rebellion, because it can be shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in time of peace, than I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man because it can be shown to not be good food for a well one. Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting, that the American people will by means of military arrests during the rebellion lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury, and *habeas corpus* throughout the indefinite peaceful future which I trust lies before them, any more

than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life.

In giving the resolutions that earnest consideration which you request of me, I cannot overlook the fact that the meeting speak as "Democrats." Nor can I, with full respect for their known intelligence, and the fairly presumed deliberation with which they prepared their resolutions, be permitted to suppose that this occurred by accident, or in any way other than that they preferred to designate themselves "Democrats" rather than "American citizens." In this time of national peril I would have preferred to meet you upon a level one step higher than any party platform, because I am sure that from such more elevated position we could do better battle for the country we all love than we possibly can from those lower ones where, from the force of habit, the prejudices of the past, and selfish hopes of the future, we are sure to expend much of our ingenuity and strength in finding fault with and aiming blows at each other. But since you have denied me this, I will yet be thankful for the country's sake that not all Democrats have done so. He on whose discretionary judgment Mr. Vallandigham was arrested and tried is a Democrat, having no old party affinity with me, and the judge who rejected the constitutional view expressed in these resolutions, by refusing to discharge Mr. Vallandingham on *habeas corpus,* is a Democrat of better days than these, having received his judicial mantle at the hands of President Jackson. And still more, of all those Democrats

who are nobly exposing their lives and shedding their blood on the battle-field, I have learned that many approve the course taken with Mr. Vallandigham, while I have not heard of a single one condemning it. I cannot assert that there are none such. And the name of President Jackson recalls an instance of pertinent history. After the battle of New Orleans, and while the fact that the treaty of peace had been concluded was well known in the city, but before official knowledge of it had arrived, General Jackson still maintained martial or military law. Now that it could be said the war was over, the clamor against martial law, which had existed from the first, grew more furious. Among other things, a Mr. Louaillier published a denunciatory newspaper article. General Jackson arrested him. A lawyer by the name of Morel procured the United States Judge Hall to order a writ of *habeas corpus* to release Mr. Louaillier. General Jackson arrested both the lawyer and the judge. A Mr. Hollander ventured to say of some part of the matter that "it was a dirty trick." General Jackson arrested him. When the officer undertook to serve the writ of *habeas corpus,* General Jackson took it from him, and sent him away with a copy. Holding the judge in custody a few days, the general sent him beyond the limits of his encampment, and set him at liberty with an order to remain till the ratification of peace should be regularly announced, or until the British should have left the southern coast. A day or two more elapsed, the ratification of the treaty of peace was regularly announced, and the judge and others were fully liberated. A few days more and the Judge

called General Jackson into court and fined him $1000 for having arrested him and the others named. The general paid the fine, and then the matter rested for nearly thirty years, when Congress refunded principal and interest. The late Senator Douglas, then in the House of Representatives, took a leading part in the debates in which the constitutional question was much discussed. I am not prepared to say whom the journals would show to have voted for the measure.

It may be remarked—first, that we had the same Constitution then as now; secondly, that we then had a case of invasion, and now we have a case of rebellion; and, thirdly, that the permanent right of the people to public discussion, the liberty of speech and of the press, the trial by jury, the law of evidence, and the *habeas corpus,* suffered no detriment whatever by that conduct of General Jackson, or its subsequent approval by the American Congress.

And yet, let me say that in my own discretion, I do not know whether I would have ordered the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. While I cannot shift the responsibility from myself, I hold that, as a general rule, the commander in the field is the better judge of the necessity in any particular case. Of course I must practice a general directory and revisory power in the matter.

One of the resolutions expresses the opinion of the meeting that arbitrary arrests will have the effect to divide and distract those who should be united in suppressing the rebellion, and I am specifically called on to discharge Mr. Vallandigham. I regard this as, at least, a fair appeal to me on the expediency of exercising a con-

stitutional power which I think exists. In response to such appeal I have to say, it gave me pain when I learned that Mr. Vallandigham had been arrested (that is, I was pained that there should have seemed to be a necessity for arresting him), and that it will afford me great pleasure to discharge him so soon as I can by any means believe the public safety will not suffer by it.

I further say that, as the war progresses, it appears to me, opinion and action, which were in great confusion at first, take shape and fall into more regular channels, so that the necessity for strong dealing with them gradually decreases. I have every reason to desire that it should cease altogether, and far from the least is my regard for the opinions and wishes of those who, like the meeting at Albany, declare their purpose to sustain the government in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion. Still, I must continue to do so much as may seem to be required by the public safety.

A. Lincoln.

Cottman, Thomas.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 15, 1863.

Dr. Thomas Cottman.

My dear Sir: You were so kind as to say this morning that you desire to return to Louisiana, and to be guided by my wishes, to some extent, in the part you may take in bringing that State to resume her rightful relation to the General Government.

My wishes are in a general way expressed, as well as I can express them, in the proclamation issued on the 8th of the present month, and in that part of the annual message which relates to that proclamation. It there appears that I deem the sustaining of the Emancipation Proclamation, where it applies, as indispensable; and I add here that I would esteem it fortunate if the people of Louisiana should themselves place the remainder of the State upon the same footing, and then, if in their discretion it should appear best, make some temporary provision for the whole of the freed people, substantially as suggested in the last proclamation.

I have not put forth the plan in that proclamation as a Procrustean bed, to which exact conformity is to be indispensable; and, in Louisiana particularly, I wish that labor already done, which varies from that plan in no important particular, may not be thrown away.

The strongest wish I have, not already publicly expressed, is that in Louisiana and elsewhere all sincere Union men would stoutly eschew cliquism, and, each yielding something in minor matters, all work together. Nothing is likely to be so baleful in the great work before us as stepping aside from the main object to consider who will get the offices if a small matter shall go thus, and who else will get them if it shall go otherwise. It is time now for real patriots to rise above all this. As to the particulars of what I may think best to be done in any State, I have publicly stated certain points which I have thought indispensable to the reëstablishment and maintenance of the national authority; and I go no further than this because

I wish to avoid both the substance and the appearance of dictation.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Craig, Mr. and Mrs.

[*Permit.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 21, 1863.

Mr. and Mrs. Craig, of Arkansas, whose plantation, situated upon the Mississippi River a few miles below Helena, has been desolated during the present war, propose returning to reoccupy and cultivate said plantation; and it is my wish that they be permitted to do so, and that the United States military forces in that vicinity will not molest them or allow them to be molested, so long as the said Mr. and Mrs. Craig shall demean themselves as peaceful loyal citizens of the United States.

Abraham Lincoln.

Crawford, S. W.

Washington, D. C., August 28, 1863.

General Crawford, Rappahannock Station, Va.:

I regret that I cannot be present to witness the presentation of a sword by the gallant Pennsylvania Reserve Corps to one so worthy to receive it as General Meade.

A. Lincoln.

Creswell, J. A. J.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 7, 1864.

Hon. John A. J. Creswell.

My dear Sir: I am very anxious for emanci-

pation to be effected in Maryland in some substantial form. I think it probable that my expressions of a preference for gradual over immediate emancipation, are misunderstood. I had thought the gradual would produce less confusion and destitution, and therefore would be more satisfactory; but if those who are better acquainted with the subject, and are more deeply interested in it, prefer the immediate, most certainly I have no objection to their judgment prevailing. My wish is that all who are for emancipation in any form, shall coöperate, all treating all respectfully, and all adopting and acting upon the major opinion when fairly ascertained. What I have dreaded is the danger that by jealousies, rivalries, and consequent ill-blood—driving one another out of meetings and conventions—perchance from the polls—the friends of emancipation themselves may divide, and lose the measure altogether. I wish this letter to not be made public; but no man representing me as I herein represent myself will be in any danger of contradiction by me.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 17, 1864.

Hon. John A. J. Creswell.

My dear Sir: It needs not to be a secret that I wish success to emancipation in Maryland. It would aid much to end the rebellion. Hence it is a matter of national consequence, in which every national man may rightfully feel a deep interest. I sincerely hope the friends of the meas-

ure will allow no minor considerations to divide and distract them.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Crosby and Nichols.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 16, 1864.

Messrs. Crosby and Nichols.

Gentlemen: The number for this month and year of the "North American Review" was duly received, and for which please accept my thanks. Of course, I am not the most impartial judge; yet, with due allowance for this, I venture to hope that the article entitled "The President's Policy" will be of value to the country. I fear I am not quite worthy of all which is therein kindly said of me personally.

The sentence of twelve lines, commencing at the top of page 252, I could wish to be not exactly as it is. In what is there expressed, the writer has not correctly understood me. I have never had a theory that secession could absolve States or people from their obligations. Precisely the contrary is asserted in the inaugural address; and it was because of my belief in the continuation of these *obligations* that I was puzzled, for a time, as to denying the legal *rights* of those citizens who remained individually innocent of treason or rebellion. But I mean no more now than to merely call attention to this point.

Yours respectfully,

A. Lincoln.

CRISFIELD, J. W.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 26, 1862.

Hon. John W. Crisfield.

My dear Sir: I have been considering the appeal made by yourself and Senator Pearce in behalf of Judge Carmichael. His charge to the Grand Jury was left with me by the senator, and on reading it I must confess I was not very favorably impressed toward the judge. The object of the charge, I understand, was to procure prosecution and punishment of some men for arresting or doing violence to some secessionists—that is, the judge was trying to help a little by giving the protection of law to those who were endeavoring to overthrow the supreme law—trying if he could find a safe place for certain men to stand on the Constitution, whilst they should stab it in another place.

But possibly I am mistaken.

The Secretary of War and I have agreed that if the judge will take the oath of allegiance usually taken in such cases, he may be discharged. Please ascertain and inform me whether he will do it.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

CRITTENDEN, J. J.*

Springfield, July 7, 1858.

To the Honorable J. J. Crittenden.

Dear Sir: I beg you will pardon me for the liberty in addressing you upon only so limited an acquaintance, and that acquaintance so long

* See page 271, volume one, present edition.

past. I am prompted to do so by a story being whispered about here that you are anxious for the reëlection of Mr. Douglas to the United States Senate, and also of Harris, of our district, to the House of Representatives, and that you are pledged to write letters to that effect to your friends here in Illinois, if requested. I do not believe the story, but still it gives me some uneasiness. If such was your inclination, I do not believe you would so express yourself. It is not in character with you as I have always estimated you.

You have no warmer friends than here in Illinois, and I assure you nine-tenths—I believe ninety-nine hundredths—of them would be mortified exceedingly by anything of the sort from you. When I tell you this, make such allowance as you think just for my position, which, I doubt not, you understand. Nor am I fishing for a letter on the other side. Even if such could be had, my judgment is that you would better be hands off!

Please drop me a line; and if your purposes are as I hope they are not, please let me know. The confirmation would pain me much, but I should still continue your friend and admirer.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

P. S. I purposely fold this sheet within itself instead of an envelop.

Springfield, November 4, 1858.

Hon. J. J. Crittenden.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 27th was taken from the office by my law partner, and in the confusion consequent upon the recent election,

was handed to me only this moment. I am sorry the allusion made in the "Missouri Republican" to the private correspondence between yourself and me has given you any pain. It gave me scarcely a thought, perhaps for the reason that, being away from home, I did not see it until only two days before the election. It never occurred to me to cast any blame upon you. I have been told that the correspondence has been alluded to in the "Missouri Republican" several times; but I only saw one of the allusions made, in which it was stated, as I remember, that a gentleman of St. Louis had seen a copy of your letter to me. As I have given no copy, nor ever shown the original, of course I inferred he had seen it in your hands; but it did not occur to me to blame you for showing what you had written yourself. It was not said that the gentleman had seen a copy, or the original, of my letter to you.

The emotions of defeat at the close of a struggle in which I felt more than a merely selfish interest, and to which defeat the use of your name contributed largely, are fresh upon me; but even in this mood I cannot for a moment suspect you of anything dishonorable.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

CUNNINGHAM, J. O.

Ottawa, August *22*, 1858.

J. O. Cunningham, Esq.

My dear Sir: . . . Douglas and I, for the first time this canvass, crossed swords here yesterday; the fire flew some, and I am glad to know I am

yet alive. There was a vast concourse of people—more than could get near enough to hear.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Curtin, Andrew G.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., August 12, 1862.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Penn.:

It is very important for some regiments to arrive here at once. What lack you from us? What can we do to expedite matters? Answer.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., September 11, 1862.

His Excellency Andrew G. Curtin,
Governor of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Sir: The application made to me by your adjutant-general for authority to call out the militia of the State of Pennsylvania has received careful consideration. It is my anxious desire to afford, as far as possible, the means and power of the Federal Government to protect the State of Pennsylvania from invasion by the rebel forces; and since, in your judgment, the militia of the State are required, and have been called upon by you, to organize for home defense and protection, I sanction the call that you have made, and will receive them into the service and pay of the United States to the extent they can be armed, equipped, and usefully employed. The arms and equipments now belonging to the General Government will be needed for the troops called out

for the national armies, so that arms can only be furnished for the quota of militia furnished by the draft of nine months' men, heretofore ordered. But as arms may be supplied by the militia under your call, these, with the 30,000 in your arsenal, will probably be sufficient for the purpose contemplated by your call. You will be authorized to provide such equipments as may be required, according to the regulations of the United States service, which, upon being turned over to the United States Quartermaster's Department, will be paid for at regulation prices, or the rates allowed by the department for such articles. Railroad transportation will also be paid for, as in other cases. Such general officers will be supplied as the exigencies of the service will permit.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, Washington, D. C.,
September 12, 1862. 10.35 a. m.

Hon. Andrew G. Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

Your despatch asking for 80,000 disciplined troops to be sent to Pennsylvania is received. Please consider we have not to exceed 80,000 disciplined troops, properly so called, this side of the mountains; and most of them, with many of the new regiments, are now close in the rear of the enemy supposed to be invading Pennsylvania. Start half of them to Harrisburg, and the enemy will turn upon and beat the remaining half, and then reach Harrisburg before the

part going there, and beat it too when it comes. The best possible security for Pennsylvania is putting the strongest force possible in rear of the enemy.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, October 30, 1862.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg:

By some means I have not seen your despatch of the 27th about Order No. 154, till this moment. I now learn what I knew nothing of before, that the history of the order is as follows, to-wit: General McClellan telegraphed asking General Halleck to have the order made, General Halleck went to the Secretary of War with it, stating his approval of the plan. The Secretary assented and General Halleck wrote the order. It was a military question which the Secretary supposed the generals understood better than he. I wish I could see Governor Curtin.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, April 13, 1863.

Hon. Andrew G. Curtin.

My dear Sir: If, after the expiration of your present term as governor of Pennsylvania, I shall continue in office here, and you shall desire to go abroad, you can do so with one of the first-class missions.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, April 28, 1863.

Hon. A. G. Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

I do not think the people of Pennsylvania should be uneasy about an invasion. Doubtless a small force of the enemy is flourishing about in the northern part of Virginia, on the "skew-horn" principle, on purpose to divert us in another quarter. I believe it is nothing more. We think we have adequate force close after them.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, May 1, 1863.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

The whole disposable force at Baltimore and elsewhere in reach have already been sent after the enemy which alarms you. The worst thing the enemy could do for himself would be to weaken himself before Hooker, and therefore it is safe to believe he is not doing it; and the best thing he could do for himself would be to get us so scared as to bring part of Hooker's force away, and that is just what he is trying to do.

I will telegraph you in the morning about calling out the militia.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, May 2, 1863.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

General Halleck tells me he has a despatch from General Schenck this morning, informing him that our forces have joined, and that the

enemy menacing Pennsylvania will have to fight or run to-day. I hope I am not less anxious to do my duty to Pennsylvania than yourself, but I really do not yet see the justification for incurring the trouble and expense of calling out the militia. I shall keep watch, and try to do my duty.

A. Lincoln.

P. S. Our forces are exactly between the enemy and Pennsylvania.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 9, 1863.

His Excellency A. G. Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania.

My dear Sir: I have to urge my illness, and the preparation of the message, in excuse for not having sooner transmitted you the inclosed from the Secretary of War and Provost-Marshal-General in response to yours in relation to recruiting in Pennsylvania. Though not quite as you desire, I hope the grounds taken will be reasonably satisfactory to you. Allow me to exchange congratulations with you on the organization of the House of Representatives, and especially on recent military events in Georgia and Tennessee.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., October 11, 1864.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

On looking up the Colonel Stover case this morning, I find we could not, without further information, be at all justified in ordering him to be mustered. I hope it can be made straight,

but the record as it stands is too bad. A copy will be immediately sent you by mail.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., October 17, 1864.

Governor A. G. Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

Your information is erroneous. No part of Sheridan's force has left him, except by expiration of terms of service. I think there is not much danger of a raid into Pennsylvania.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., November 25, 1864.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

I have no knowledge, information, or belief, that three States, or any State, offer to resume allegiance.

A. Lincoln.

CURTIS, S. R.

Washington, October 24, 1861.

Brigadier-General S. R. Curtis.

Dear Sir: On receipt of this, with the accompanying inclosures, you will take safe, certain, and suitable measures to have the inclosure addressed to Major-General Frémont delivered to him with all reasonable despatch, subject to these conditions only: that if, when General Frémont shall be reached by the messenger—yourself or any one sent by you—he shall then have, in personal command, fought and won a battle, or shall then be actually in a battle, or shall then be in

the immediate presence of the enemy in expectation of a battle, it is not to be delivered, but held for further orders. After, and not till after, the delivery to General Frémont, let the inclosure addressed to General Hunter be delivered to him.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[*With inclosures.*]

Washington, October 24, 1861.

Brigadier-General S. R. Curtis.

My dear Sir: Herewith is a document—half letter, half order—which, wishing you to see, but not to make public, I send unsealed. Please read it and then inclose it to the officer who may be in command of the Department of the West at the time it reaches him. I cannot now know whether Frémont or Hunter will then be in command.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, October 10, 1862.

Major-General Curtis, St. Louis, Missouri:

I believe some Cherokee Indian regiments, with some white forces operating with them, now at or near Fort Scott, are within your department and under your command. John Ross, principal chief of the Cherokees, is now here an exile, and he wishes to know, and so do I, whether the force above mentioned could not occupy the Cherokee country consistently with the public service.

Please consider and answer.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., October 12, 1862.
Major-General Curtis, St. Louis, Missouri:

Would the completion of the railroad some distance farther in the direction of Springfield, Mo., be of any military advantage to you? Please answer.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 10, 1862.
Major-General Curtis, St. Louis, Missouri:

Please suspend, until further order, all proceedings on the order made by General Schofield, on the twenty-eighth day of August last, for assessing and collecting from secessionists and Southern sympathizers the sum of five hundred thousand dollars, etc., and in the meantime make out and send me a statement of facts pertinent to the question, together with your opinion upon it.

A. Lincoln.

Washington, December 16, 1862.
Major-General Curtis, Saint Louis, Mo.:

N. W. Watkins, of Jackson, Mo. (who is half brother to Henry Clay), writes me that a colonel of ours has driven him from his home at Jackson. Will you please look into the case and restore the old man to his home if the public interest will admit?

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 17, 1862.
Major-General Curtis:

Could the civil authority be reintroduced into

Missouri in lieu of the military to any extent, with advantage and safety?

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 19, 1862.

Major-General Curtis, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Hon. —— Hall, M. C., here tells me, and Governor Gamble telegraphs me that quiet can be maintained in all the counties north of the Missouri River by the enrolled militia. Confer with Governor Gamble and telegraph me.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 2, 1863.

Major-General Curtis.

My dear Sir: Yours of December 29 by the hand of Mr. Strong is just received. The day I telegraphed you suspending the order in relation to Dr. McPheeters, he, with Mr. Bates, the Attorney-General, appeared before me and left with me a copy of the order mentioned. The doctor also showed me the copy of an oath which he said he had taken, which is, indeed, very strong and specific. He also verbally assured me that he had constantly prayed in church for the President and government, as he had always done before the present war. In looking over the recitals in your order, I do not see that this matter of the prayer, as he states it, is negatived, nor that any violation of his oath is charged, nor, in fact, that anything specific is alleged against him. The charges are all general; that he has a rebel wife and rebel relations, that he

sympathizes with rebels, and that he exercises rebel influence. Now, after talking with him, I tell you frankly I believe he does sympathize with the rebels, but the question remains whether such a man, of unquestioned good moral character, who has taken such an oath as he has, and cannot even be charged with violating it, and who can be charged with no other specific act or omission, can, with safety to the government, be exiled upon the suspicion of his secret sympathies. But I agree that this must be left to you, who are on the spot; and if, after all, you think the public good requires his removal, my suspension of the order is withdrawn, only with this qualification, that the time during the suspension is not to be counted against him. I have promised him this. But I must add that the United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but let the churches, as such, take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

P. S. The committee composed of Messrs. Yeatman and Filley (Mr. Broadhead not attending) has presented your letter and the memorial of sundry citizens. On the whole subject embraced exercise your best judgment, with a sole view to the public interest, and I will not interfere without hearing you.

A. Lincoln.

January 3, 1863.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 5, 1863.

Major-General Curtis.

My dear Sir: I am having a good deal of trouble with Missouri matters, and I now sit down to write you particularly about it. One class of friends believe in greater severity and another in greater leniency in regard to arrests, banishments, and assessments. As usual in such cases, each questions the other's motives. On the one hand, it is insisted that Governor Gamble's unionism, at most, is not better than a secondary spring of action; that hunkerism and a wish for political influence stand before unionism with him. On the other hand, it is urged that arrests, banishments, and assessments are made more for private malice, revenge, and pecuniary interest than for the public good. This morning I was told by a gentleman who I have no doubt believes what he says, that in one case of assessments for $10,000, the different persons who paid compared receipts, and found they had paid $30,000. If this be true, the inference is that the collecting agents pocketed the odd $20,000. And true or not in the instance, nothing but the sternest necessity can justify the making and maintaining of a system so liable to such abuses. Doubtless the necessity for the making of the system in Missouri did exist, and whether it continues for the maintenance of it is now a practical and very important question. Some days ago Governor Gamble telegraphed me, asking that the assessments outside of St. Louis County might be suspended, as they already have been within it, and this morning all the members of Congress here from Missouri but one laid

a paper before me asking the same thing. Now, my belief is that Governor Gamble is an honest and true man, not less so than yourself; that you and he could confer together on this and other Missouri questions with great advantage to the public; that each knows something which the other does not; and that acting together you could about double your stock of pertinent information. May I not hope that you and he will attempt this? I could at once safely do (or you could safely do without me) whatever you and he agree upon. There is absolutely no reason why you should not agree.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

P. S. I forgot to say that Hon. James S. Rollins, member of Congress from one of the Missouri districts, wishes that, upon his personal responsibility, Rev. John M. Robinson, of Columbia, Missouri; James L. Matthews, of Boone County, Missouri; and James L. Stephens, also of Boone County, Missouri, may be allowed to return to their respective homes. Major Rollins leaves with me very strong papers from the neighbors of these men, whom he says he knows to be true men. He also says he has many constituents who he thinks are rightly exiled, but that he thinks these three should be allowed to return. Please look into the case, and oblige Major Rollins if you consistently can.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[Copy sent to Governor Gamble.]

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 10, 1863.

Major-General Curtis, St. Louis, Missouri:

I understand there is considerable trouble with the slaves in Missouri. Please do your best to keep peace on the question for two or three weeks, by which time we hope to do something here toward settling the question in Missouri.

A. Lincoln

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
Washington, January 14, 1863.

Major-General Curtis, St. Louis, Missouri:

The President's attention having been called to the recent order of your provost-marshal in St. Louis, published in the newspapers, it is disapproved by him, and he directs:

1st. That the order be suspended.

2d. That all orders of provost-marshals in the State of Missouri respecting trade, commerce, or anything but the discipline and government of the troops in the United States service, be also suspended, and the provost-marshals be relieved from service in such capacity, excepting at St. Louis.

Further instructions on this subject will be transmitted by mail.

You will please acknowledge the receipt of this telegram.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 8, 1863.

Major-General Curtis.

My dear Sir: I have scarcely supposed it possible that you would entirely understand my feelings and motives in making the late change of commander for the department of the Missouri. I inclose you a copy of a letter which I recently addressed to General Schofield, and which will explain the matter in part. It became almost a matter of personal self-defense to somehow break up the state of things in Missouri. I did not mean to cast any censure upon you, nor to indorse any of the charges made against you by others. With me the presumption is still in your favor; that you are honest, capable, faithful, and patriotic.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

[See DRAKE, CHARLES D., Oct. 5, 1863.]

CUSHING, WILLIAM B.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives: In conformity to the law of [*the*] 16th of July, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Lieutenant William B. Cushing, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks from Congress for his important, gallant, and perilous achievement in destroying the rebel iron-clad steamer *Albemarle,* on the night of the 27th of October, 1864, at Plymouth, North Carolina. The destruction of so formidable a vessel, which had resisted the continued attacks of a number of

our vessels on former occasions, is an important event touching our future naval and military operations, and would reflect honor on any officer, and redounds to the credit of this young officer and the few brave comrades who assisted in this successful and daring undertaking.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, December 5, 1864.

Dahlgren, Ulric.

[See Butler, Benjamin F., Mar. 17, 1864.]

Dana, N. J. T.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 6, 1865.

Major-General Dana:

The attached document, purporting to be an order issued by your authority, is sent you with the request that you will inform me whether such order has been issued by you, and if it has, please inform me by what authority it is that you undertake to impose terms in the premises not imposed by the government, and which in effect entirely thwart and defeat the object of the government.

It is suggested that if executing in good faith the order of the government in the matter in question, or any other matter, operates injuriously to the military service, it would be proper for you to report to the government fully upon it, and that would be the only proper course.

Yours,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, February 18, 1865.

Major-General Dana:

Allow the bearers of this paper to prove to you if they can that the foregoing statement of facts made on their representation by the Secretary of the Treasury is substantially true; and on their doing so to your satisfaction in a reasonable degree, allow them to bring out the products in the manner and on the terms indicated by the Secretary of the Treasury in the foregoing letter. The change of lines, if true as stated, justifies the dealing with the case, and similar cases, as special ones.

Yours, etc.,

A. Lincoln.

DAVIS, DAVID.

[See TREAT, S. H.]

DAVIS, HENRY WINTER.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 18, 1863.

Hon. Henry Winter Davis.

My dear Sir: There will be in the new House of Representatives, as there were in the old, some members openly opposing the war, some supporting it unconditionally, and some supporting it with "buts," and "ifs," and "ands." They will divide on the organization of the House—on the election of a Speaker. As you ask my opinion, I give it, that the supporters of the war should send no man to Congress who will not pledge himself to go into caucus with the

unconditional supporters of the war, and to abide the action of such caucus and vote for the person therein nominated for Speaker. Let the friends of the government first save the government, and then administer it to their own liking.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

P. S. This is not for publication, but to prevent misunderstanding of what I verbally said to you yesterday. A. L.

Davis, Jefferson.

[See Blair, Frank P., Sr.]

Davis, John W.

[*Indorsement on Letter.*]

[About September 15, 1861.]

The President has read this letter, and he deeply commiserates the condition of any one so distressed as the writer seems to be. He does not know Mr. Davis—only knows him to be one of the arrested police commissioners of Baltimore because he says so in this letter. Assuming him to be one of those commissioners, the President understands Mr. Davis could at the time of his arrest, could at any time since, and can now, be released by taking a full oath of allegiance to the government of the United States, and that Mr. Davis has not been kept in ignorance of this condition of release. If Mr. Davis is still so hostile to the government, and so determined to aid its enemies in destroying it, he makes his own choice.

Delahay, M. W.

[*Portion of Letter.*]

May 14, 1859.

M. W. Delahay.

. . . You will probably adopt resolutions in the nature of a platform. I think the only temptation will be to lower the Republican standard in order to gather recruits. In my judgment such a step would be a serious mistake, and open a gap through which more would pass out than pass in. And this would be the same whether the letting down should be in deference to Douglasism or to the Southern opposition element; either would surrender the object of the Republican organization—the preventing of the spread and nationalization of slavery. This object surrendered, the organization would go to pieces. I do not mean by this that no Southern man must be placed upon our national ticket in 1860. There are many men in the slave States for any one of whom I could cheerfully vote to be either President or Vice-President, provided he would enable me to do so with safety to the Republican cause, without lowering the Republican standard. This is the indispensable condition of a union with us; it is idle to talk of any other. Any other would be as fruitless to the South as distasteful to the North, the whole ending in common defeat. Let a union be attempted on the basis of ignoring the slavery question, and magnifying other questions which the people are just now not caring about, and it will result in gaining no single electoral vote in the South, and losing every one in the North. . . .

Dennison, William.

Springfield, Illinois, February 7, 1861.

Sir: Your letter of the 31st ultimo, inviting me, on behalf of the legislature of Ohio, to visit Columbus on my way to Washington, has been duly received.

With profound gratitude for the mark of respect and honor thus cordially tendered me by you and them, I accept the invitation.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

His Excellency William Dennison,
Governor of Ohio.

Please arrange no ceremonies which will waste time.

[*Telegram.*]

On April 7, 1864, in answer to a request to give a cotton-trader a letter of recommendation to military and naval authorities, etc., the President informed Governor Dennison, through John G. Nicolay, his Private Secretary, that "the President thinks he cannot safely write that class of letters."

Dennison, William, and Others.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 27, 1864.

Hon. William Dennison and Others, a Committee of the National Union Convention.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 14th instant formally notifying me that I have been nominated by the convention you represent for the Presidency of the United States for four years from the fourth of March next has been received. The nomination is gratefully accepted, as the resolutions of the convention, called the

platform, are heartily approved. While the resolution in regard to the supplanting of republican government upon the western continent is fully concurred in, there might be misunderstanding were I not to say that the position of the government in relation to the action of France in Mexico, as assumed through the State Department and approved and indorsed by the convention among the measures and acts of the executive, will be faithfully maintained so long as the state of facts shall leave that position pertinent and applicable. I am especially gratified that the soldier and the seaman were not forgotten by the convention, as they forever must and will be remembered by the grateful country for whose salvation they devote their lives.

Thanking you for the kind and complimentary terms in which you have communicated the nomination and other proceedings of the convention, I subscribe myself.

Your obedient servant,

Abraham Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., September 24, 1864.

Governor William Dennison, Columbus, Ohio:

Mr. Blair has resigned and I appoint you Postmaster-General. Come on immediately.

A. Lincoln.

Derrickson, Captain.

[*Memorandum.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 1, 1862.

To Whom it May Concern: Captain Derrick-

son, with his company, has been for some time keeping guard at my residence, now at the Soldiers' Retreat. He and his company are very agreeable to me, and while it is deemed proper for any guard to remain, none would be more satisfactory than Captain Derrickson and his company.

A. Lincoln.

DILLER, ABNER Y.

[See COLLAMER, JACOB, Apr. 7, 1849.]

DILLER, ISAAC P.

[See AGRICULTURE, COMMISSIONER OF.]

DINGMAN, A.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., June 18, 1863.

General A. Dingman, Belleville, C. W.:

Thanks for your offer of the Fifteenth Battalion. I do not think Washington is in danger.

A. Lincoln.

DIX, JOHN A.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
Washington, D. C., June 28, 1862.

General Dix:

Communication with McClellan by White House is cut off. Strain every nerve to open communication with him by James River, or any other way you can. Report to me.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
Washington City, June 30, 1862.

Major-General Dix, Fort Monroe:

Is it not probable the enemy have abandoned the line between White House and McClellan's rear? He could have but little object to maintain it, and nothing to subsist upon. Would not Stoneman better move up and see about it? I think a telegraphic communication can at once be opened to White House from Williamsburg. The wires must be up still.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., November 18, 1862.

Major-General Dix, Fort Monroe:

Please give me your best opinion as to the number of the enemy now at Richmond and also at Petersburg.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 22, 1862.

Major-General Dix:

Owing to extreme pressure of business, I have neglected for a week to write this note. General Busteed is with you. I bespeak for him your kindest consideration. His case is peculiar. Without much military experience, he has entered the service from purely patriotic motives. Please assign him the position best adapted to his case which may be within your power.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 14, 1863.

Major-General Dix.

My dear Sir: The proclamation has been issued. We were not succeeding—at best were progressing too slowly—without it. Now that we have it, and bear all the disadvantages of it (as we do bear some in certain quarters), we must also take some benefit from it, if practicable. I therefore will thank you for your well-considered opinion whether Fortress Monroe and Yorktown, one or both, could not, in whole or in part, be garrisoned by colored troops, leaving the white forces now necessary at those places to be employed elsewhere.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

War Department, May 9, 1863.

Major-General Dix.

It is very important for Hooker to know exactly what damage is done to the railroads at all points between Fredericksburg and Richmond. As yet we have no word as to whether the crossings of the North and South Anna, or any of them, have been touched. There are four of these crossings; that is, one on each road on each stream. You readily perceive why this information is desired. I suppose Kilpatrick or Davis can tell. Please ascertain fully what was done, and what is the present condition, as near as you can, and advise me at once.

[See Astor, J. J., Nov. 9, 1863.]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 1, 1863.

Major-General John A. Dix, President of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, New York:

I have not been permitted until to-day to present to the President your communication of November 23. He directs me to express his deep regret that his illness will prevent him from giving on this occasion expression to the profound interest he feels in the success of a work so vast and so beneficent as that which you are about to inaugurate.

Respectfully your obedient servant,
John Hay, Assistant Private Secretary.

Washington, D. C., April 21, 1864.

Major-General Dix, New York:

Yesterday I was induced to telegraph the officer in military command at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, Mass., suspending the execution of Charles Carpenter, to be executed to-morrow for desertion. Just now, on reading your order in the case, I telegraphed the same officer withdrawing the suspension, and leaving the case entirely with you. The man's friends are pressing me, but I refer them to you, intending to take no further action myself.

A. Lincoln.

[*Order.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., May 18, 1864.

Major-General Dix, Commanding at New York:

Whereas there has been wickedly and traitorously printed and published this morning in the

New York "World" and New York "Journal of Commerce," newspapers printed and published in the city of New York, a false and spurious proclamation, purporting to be signed by the President and to be countersigned by the Secretary of State, which publication is of a treasonable nature designed to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States and to the rebels now at war against the government, and their aiders and abettors: you are therefore hereby commanded forthwith to arrest and imprison, in any fort or military prison in your command, the editors, proprietors, and publishers of the aforesaid newspapers, and all such persons as, after public notice has been given of the falsehood of said publication, print and publish the same with intent to give aid and comfort to the enemy; and you will hold the persons so arrested in close custody until they can be brought to trial before a military commission for their offense. You will also take possession by military force, of the printing establishments of the New York "World" and "Journal of Commerce," and hold the same until further orders, and prevent any further publication therefrom.

A. Lincoln,
President of the United States.

By the President:
William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

DIXON, JAMES.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 24, 1862.

Hon. Senator Dixon.

My dear Sir: The bearer of this, Mr. Bronson Murray, now resident in the fourth district

of Connecticut, wishes to be collector for that district. He is my acquaintance and friend of some years' standing, whom I would like to oblige, but I should not like to appoint him against the wish of yourself and other Union friends there.

Please give the case such attention as you reasonably can, and write me.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

DODGE, G. M.

[*Telegram.*]

December 13, 1864.

Major-General Dodge, St. Louis, Missouri:

Please suspend the sending South of Mrs. Nancy H. Thompson, wife of Gideon H. Thompson, of Platte County, Missouri, but now in the rebel army, until further order; and in the meantime ascertain and report to me whether there is anything, and what, against her, except that her husband is a rebel.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 15, 1865.

Major-General Dodge, St. Louis, Missouri:

It is represented to me that there is so much irregular violence in northern Missouri as to be driving away the people and almost depopulating it. Please gather information, and consider whether an appeal to the people there to go to their homes and let one another alone—recognizing as a full right of protection for each that he lets others alone, and banning only him

who refuses to let others alone—may not enable you to withdraw the troops, their presence itself [*being*] a cause of irritation and constant apprehension, and thus restore peace and quiet, and returning prosperity. Please consider this and telegraph or write me.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 24, 1865.

Major-General Dodge, St. Louis, Missouri:

It is said an old lady in Clay County, Missouri, by name Mrs. Winifred E. Price, is about being sent South. If she is not misbehaving let her remain.

A. Lincoln.

Dodge, William E., Jr.

[See Scott, Winfield, Mar. 1, 1865.]

Dole, George W., and Others.

Springfield, Illinois, December 14, 1859.

Messrs. George W. Dole, G. S. Hubbard, and W. H. Brown.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 12th instant is received. To your question: "In the election of senator in 1854 [1855 you mean], when Mr. Trumbull was the successful candidate, was there any unfairness in the conduct of Mr. Judd toward you, or anything blamable on his part?" I answer, I have never believed, and do not now believe, that on that occasion there was any unfairness in the conduct of Mr. Judd toward me, or anything blamable on his part. Without deception, he preferred Judge Trumbull to myself,

which was his clear right, morally as well as legally.

To your question: "During the canvass of last year, did he do his whole duty toward you and the Republican party?" I answer, I have always believed, and now believe, that during that canvass he did his whole duty toward me and the Republican party.

To your question: "Do you know of anything unfair in his conduct toward yourself in any way?" I answer, I neither know nor suspect anything unfair in his conduct toward myself in any way.

I take pleasure in adding that of all the avowed friends I had in the canvass of last year, I do not suspect a single one of having acted treacherously to me, or to our cause; and that there is not one of them in whose honor and integrity I have more confidence to-day than in that of Mr. Judd.

You can use your discretion as to whether you make this public.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

DOUGLAS, STEPHEN A.

[See page 116, volume three of present edition, for correspondence in regard to Joint Debate. See also ASBURY, HENRY; CUNNINGHAM, J. O.; and GALLOWAY, SAMUEL, July 28, 1859.]

DOUGLAS, MRS. STEPHEN A.

[*Memorandum.*]

Executive Mansion, November 27, 1861.

Yesterday Mrs. Douglas called, saying she is guardian of the minor children of her late hus-

band; that she is being urged, against her inclination, to send them South on the plea of avoiding the confiscation of their property there, and asking my counsel in the case.

I expect the United States will overcome the attempt to confiscate property because of loyalty to the government; but if not, I still do not expect the property of absent minor children will be confiscated. I therefore think Mrs. Douglas may safely act her pleasure in the premises.

But it is especially dangerous for my name to be connected with the matter, for nothing would more certainly excite the secessionists to do the worst they can against the children.

Drake, Charles D., and Others.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., October 5, 1863.

Hon. Charles D. Drake and Others, Committee.

Gentlemen: Your original address presented on the 30th ultimo, and the four supplementary ones presented on the 3d instant, have been carefully considered. I hope you will regard the other duties claiming my attention, together with the great length and importance of these documents, as constituting a sufficient apology for my not having responded sooner. These papers, framed for a common object, consist of the things demanded and the reasons for demanding them. The things demanded are:

First—That General Schofield shall be relieved, and General Butler be appointed, as commander of the military department of Missouri.

Second—That the system of enrolled militia in Missouri may be broken up, and national forces be substituted for it; and

Third—That at elections persons may not be allowed to vote who are not entitled by law to do so.

Among the reasons given, enough of suffering and wrong to Union men is certainly, and I suppose truly, stated. Yet the whole case, as presented, fails to convince me that General Schofield or the enrolled militia is responsible for that suffering and wrong. The whole can be explained on a more charitable and, as I think, a more rational hypothesis. We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union with, but not without, slavery—those for it without, but not with—those for it with or without, but prefer it with—and those for it with or without, but prefer it without.

Among these again is a subdivision of those who are for gradual, but not for immediate, and those who are for immediate, but not for gradual, extinction of slavery. It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once sincerity is questioned, and motives are assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot, and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies and universal suspicion reigns.

Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be first killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only; but this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures deemed indispensable, but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murders for old grudges, and murders for pelf, proceed under any cloak that will best cover for the occasion. These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any general. The newspaper files, those chroniclers of current events, will show that the evils now complained of were quite as prevalent under Frémont, Hunter, Halleck, and Curtis, as under Schofield. If the former had greater force opposed to them, they also had greater force with which to meet it. When the organized rebel army left the State, the main Federal force had to go also, leaving the department commander at home relatively no stronger than before. Without disparaging any, I affirm with confidence that no commander of that department has, in proportion to his means, done better than General Schofield.

The first specific charge against General Schofield is that the enrolled militia was placed under his command, whereas it had not been placed under the command of General Curtis. The fact, I believe, is true; but you do not point out, nor can I conceive how that did or could injure loyal men or the Union cause.

You charge that, upon General Curtis being superseded by General Schofield, Franklin A.

Dick was superseded by James O. Broadhead as Provost-Marshal-General. No very specific showing is made as to how this did or could injure the Union cause. It recalls, however, the condition of things, as presented to me, which led to a change in the commander of that department.

To restrain contraband intelligence and trade, a system of searches, seizures, permits, and passes had been introduced, I think, by General Frémont. When General Halleck came, he found and continued this system, and added an order, applicable to some parts of the State, to levy and collect contributions from noted rebels, to compensate losses and relieve destitution caused by the rebellion. The action of General Frémont and General Halleck, as stated, constituted a sort of system, which General Curtis found in full operation when he took command of the department. That there was a necessity for something of the sort was clear, but that it could only be justified by stern necessity, and that it was liable to great abuse in administration, was equally clear. Agents to execute it, contrary to the great prayer, were led into temptation. Some might, while others would not, resist that temptation. It was not possible to hold any to a very strict accountability, and those yielding to the temptation would sell permits and passes to those who would pay most and most readily for them; and would seize property and collect levies in the aptest way to fill their own pockets. Money being the object, the man having money, whether loyal or disloyal, would be the victim. This practice doubtless existed to some extent, and it was a real additional evil that it could be

and was plausibly charged to exist in greater extent than it did.

When General Curtis took command of the department, Mr. Dick, against whom I never knew anything to allege, had general charge of this system. A controversy in regard to it rapidly grew into almost unmanageable proportions. One side ignored the necessity and magnified the evils of the system, while the other ignored the evils and magnified the necessity, and each bitterly assailed the motives of the other. I could not fail to see that the controversy enlarged in the same proportion as the professed Union men there distinctly took sides in two opposing political parties. I exhausted my wits, and very nearly my patience also, in efforts to convince both that the evils they charged on each other were inherent in the case, and could not be cured by giving either party a victory over the other.

Plainly the irritating system was not to be perpetual, and it was plausibly urged that it could be modified at once with advantage. The case could scarcely be worse, and whether it could be made better could only be determined by a trial. In this view, and not to ban or brand General Curtis, or to give a victory to any party, I made the change of commander for the department.

I now learn that soon after this change Mr. Dick was removed, and that Mr. Broadhead, a gentleman of no less good character, was put in the place. The mere fact of this change is more distinctly complained of than is any conduct of the new officer or other consequences of the change.

I gave the new commander no instructions

as to the administration of the system mentioned beyond what is contained in the private letter afterward surreptitiously published, in which I directed him to act solely for the public good and independently of both parties. Neither anything you have presented me nor anything I have otherwise learned has convinced me that he has been unfaithful to this charge.

Imbecility is urged as one cause for removing General Schofield, and the late massacre at Lawrence, Kansas, is pressed as evidence of that imbecility. To my mind that fact scarcely tends to prove the proposition. That massacre is only an example of what Grierson, John [*H.*] Morgan, and many others might have repeatedly done on their respective raids had they chosen to incur the personal hazard and possessed the fiendish hearts to do it.

The charge is made that General Schofield, on purpose to protect the Lawrence murderers, would not allow them to be pursued into Missouri. While no punishment could be too sudden or too severe for those murderers, I am well satisfied that the preventing of the threatened remedial raid into Missouri was the only safe way to avoid an indiscriminate massacre there, including probably more innocent than guilty. Instead of condemning I therefore approve what I understand General Schofield did in that respect.

The charges that General Schofield has purposely withheld protection from loyal people and purposely facilitated the objects of the disloyal are altogether beyond my power of belief. I do not arraign the veracity of gentlemen as to the facts complained of, but I do more than ques-

tion the judgment which would infer that those facts occurred in accordance with the purposes of General Schofield.

With my present views, I must decline to remove General Schofield. In this I decide nothing against General Butler. I sincerely wish it were convenient to assign him a suitable command. In order to meet some existing evils I have addressed a letter of instructions to General Schofield, a copy of which I inclose to you.

As to the enrolled militia, I shall endeavor to ascertain better than I now know what is its exact value. Let me say now, however, that your proposal to substitute national forces for the enrolled militia implies that in your judgment the latter is doing something which needs to be done; and if so, the proposition to throw that force away and to supply its place by bringing other forces from the field where they are urgently needed seems to me very extraordinary. Whence shall they come? Shall they be withdrawn from Banks, or Grant, or Steele, or Rosecrans? Few things have been so grateful to my anxious feelings as when, in June last, the local force in Missouri aided General Schofield to so promptly send a large general force to the relief of General Grant, then investing Vicksburg, and menaced from without by General Johnston. Was this all wrong? Should the enrolled militia then have been broken up and General Herron kept from Grant to police Missouri? So far from finding cause to object, I confess to a sympathy for whatever relieves our general force in Missouri and allows it to serve elsewhere. I therefore, as at present advised, cannot attempt the destruction of the enrolled militia of Missouri.

I may add that the force being under the national military control, it is also within the proclamation in regard to the *habeas corpus*.

I concur in the propriety of your request in regard to elections, and have, as you see, directed General Schofield accordingly. I do not feel justified to enter upon the broad field you present in regard to the political differences between Radicals and Conservatives. From time to time I have done and said what appeared to me proper to do and say. The public knows it all. It obliges nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody. The Radicals and Conservatives each agree with me in some things and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things, for then they would agree with each other and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise; and I do not question their right. I too shall do what seems to be my duty. I hold whoever commands in Missouri or elsewhere responsible to me and not to either Radicals or Conservatives. It is my duty to hear all, but at last I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

DUBOIS, JESSE K.

Bloomington, Dec. 21, 1857.

Dear Dubois: J. M. Douglas of the I. C. R. R. Co. is here and will carry this letter. He says they have a large sum (near $90,000) which they will pay into the treasury now, if they have an assurance that they shall not be sued before

Jany. 1859—otherwise not. I really wish you could consent to this. Douglas says they *can not* pay more and I believe him.

I do not write this as a lawyer seeking an advantage for a client; but only as a friend, only urging you to do what I think I would do if I were in your situation. I mean this as private and confidential only, but I feel a good deal of anxiety about it.

Yours, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., July 11, 1863. 9 a. m.

Hon. J. K. Dubois, Springfield, Ill.:

It is certain that after three days' fighting at Gettysburg, Lee withdrew and made for the Potomac; that he found the river so swollen as to prevent his crossing; that he is still this side, near Hagerstown and Williamsport, preparing to defend himself; and that Meade is close upon him, and preparing to attack him, heavy skirmishing having occurred nearly all day yesterday.

I am more than satisfied with what has happened north of the Potomac so far, and am anxious and hopeful for what is to come.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

(*Cipher.*)

Washington, September 13, 1863.

Hon. J. K. Dubois, Hon. O. M. Hatch:

What nation do you desire General Allen to be made quartermaster-general of? This nation already has a quartermaster-general.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
September 22, 1863.

Hon. O. M. Hatch, Hon. J. K. Dubois, Springfield, Ill.:

Your letter is just received. The particular form of my despatch was jocular, which I supposed you gentlemen knew me well enough to understand. General Allen is considered here as a very faithful and capable officer, and one who would be at least thought of for quartermaster-general if that office were vacant.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, November 15, 1864.

Hon. Jesse K. Dubois, Springfield, Illinois:

Yours of to-day, asking that 530 men may be assigned to the 32d Illinois, shall be attended to. You say: "State gone 25,000." Which way did it go? How stand the members of Congress and the other officers?

A. Lincoln.

Du Pont, Samuel F.

[*Message to Congress.*]

I cordially recommend that Captain Samuel F. Du Pont receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his services and gallantry displayed in the capture of Forts Walker and Beauregard, commanding the entrance of Port Royal harbor, on the 7th of November, 1861.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, February 4, 1862.

[*Message to Congress.*]

[March 20, 1862.]

I cordially recommend that Captain Samuel F. Du Pont receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his services and gallantry displayed in the capture, since the 21st of December, 1861, of various points on the coasts of Georgia and Florida, particularly Brunswick, Cumberland Island and Sound, Amelia Island, the towns of St. Mary's, St. Augustine, Jacksonville, and Fernandina.

A. Lincoln.

Washington, March 20, 1862.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, April 13, 1863.

Admiral Du Pont:

Hold your position inside the bar near Charleston; or, if you shall have left it, return to it, and hold it till further orders. Do not allow the enemy to erect new batteries or defenses on Morris Island. If he has begun it, drive him out. I do not herein order you to renew the general attack. That is to depend on your own discretion or a further order.

A. Lincoln.

[See HUNTER, DAVID, April 14, 1863.]

DURANT, THOMAS J.

[See BANKS, NATHANIEL P., Aug. 5, 1863; Nov. 5, 1863; BULLITT, CUTHBERT.]

Durley, Williamson.

Springfield, October 3, 1845.

When I saw you at home, it was agreed that I should write to you and your brother Madison. Until I then saw you I was not aware of your being what is generally called an Abolitionist, or, as you call yourself, a Liberty man, though I well knew there were many such in your country.

I was glad to hear that you intended to attempt to bring about, at the next election in Putnam, a union of the Whigs proper and such of the Liberty men as are Whigs in principle on all questions save only that of slavery. So far as I can perceive, by such union neither party need yield anything on *the* point in difference between them. If the Whig abolitionists of New York had voted with us last fall, Mr. Clay would now be President, Whig principles in the ascendant, and Texas not annexed; whereas, by the division, all that either had at stake in the contest was lost. And, indeed, it was extremely probable, beforehand, that such would be the result. As I have always understood, the Liberty men deprecated the annexation of Texas extremely; and this being so, why they should refuse to cast their votes [*so*] as to prevent it, even to me seemed wonderful. What was their process of reasoning, I can only judge from what a single one of them told me. It was this: "We are not to do evil that good may come." This general proposition is doubtless correct; but did it apply? If by your votes you could have prevented the *extension,* etc., of slavery would it not have been *good,* and not *evil,* so to have used your votes,

even though it involved the casting of them for a slave-holder? By the *fruit* the tree is to be known. An *evil* tree cannot bring forth *good* fruit. If the fruit of electing Mr. Clay would have been to prevent the extension of slavery, could the act of electing have been evil?

But I will not argue further. I perhaps ought to say that individually I never was much interested in the Texas question. I never could see much good to come of annexation, inasmuch as they were already a free republican people on our own model. On the other hand, I never could very clearly see how the annexation would augment the evil of slavery. It always seemed to me that slaves would be taken there in about equal numbers, with or without annexation. And if more *were* taken because of annexation, still there would be just so many the fewer left where they were taken from. It is possibly true, to some extent, that, with annexation, some slaves may be sent to Texas and continued in slavery that otherwise might have been liberated. To whatever extent this may be true, I think annexation an evil. I hold it to be a paramount duty of us in the free States, due to the Union of the States, and perhaps to liberty itself (paradox though it may seem), to let the slavery of the other States alone; while, on the other hand, I hold it to be equally clear that we should never knowingly lend ourselves, directly or indirectly, to prevent that slavery from dying a natural death—to find new places for it to live in, when it can no longer exist in the old. Of course I am not now considering what would be our duty in cases of insurrection among the slaves. To recur to the Texas question, I understand the

Liberty men to have viewed annexation as a much greater evil than ever I did, and I would like to convince you, if I could, that they could have prevented it, if they had chosen.

I intend this letter for you and Madison together, and if you and he, or either, shall think fit to drop me a line, I shall be pleased.

Yours with respect,

A. Lincoln.

East, E. H.

Washington, February 27, 1864.

Hon. E. H. East, Secretary of State, Nashville, Tennessee:

Your telegram of the twenty-sixth instant asking for a copy of my despatch to Warren Jordan, Esq., at "Nashville Press" office, has just been referred to me by Governor Johnson. In my reply to Mr. Jordan, which was brief and hurried, I intended to say that in the county and State elections of Tennessee, the oath prescribed in the proclamation of Governor Johnson on the twenty-sixth of January, 1864, ordering an election in Tennessee on the first Saturday in March next, is entirely satisfactory to me as a test of loyalty of all persons proposing or offering a vote in said elections; and coming from him would better be observed and followed. There is no conflict between the oath of amnesty in my proclamation of eighth December, 1863, and that prescribed by Governor Johnson in his proclamation of the twenty-sixth ultimo.

No person who has taken the oath of amnesty of eighth December, 1863, and obtained a pardon thereby, and who intends to observe the

same in good faith, should have any objection to taking that prescribed by Governor Johnson as a test of loyalty. I have seen and examined Governor Johnson's proclamation, and am entirely satisfied with his plan, which is to restore the State government and place it under the control of citizens truly loyal to the Government of the United States.

A. Lincoln.

Please send above to Governor Johnson.

A. L.

Eckert, T. T.

[*Instructions.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 30, 1865.

Major T. T. Eckert.

Sir: You will proceed with the documents placed in your hands, and on reaching General Ord will deliver him the letter addressed to him by the Secretary of War. Then, by General Ord's assistance, procure an interview with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, or any of them, deliver to him or them the paper on which your own letter is written. Note on the copy which you retain the time of delivery and to whom delivered. Receive their answer in writing, waiting a reasonable time for it, and which, if it contain their decision to come through without further condition, will be your warrant to ask General Ord to pass them through as directed in the letter of the Secretary of War to him. If by their answer they decline to come, or propose other terms, do not have them pass

through. And this being your whole duty, return and report to me.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

ELLIS, ABNER Y.

[See COLLAMER, JACOB, April 7, 1849.]

ELLSWORTH, EDWARD.

[See CAMERON, SIMON, Aug. 8, 1861.]

ELLSWORTH, MR. AND MRS.

Washington, D. C., May 25, 1861.

To the Father and Mother of Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth.

My dear Sir and Madam: In the untimely loss of your noble son, our affliction here is scarcely less than your own. So much of promised usefulness to one's country, and of bright hopes for one's self and friends, have rarely been so suddenly dashed as in his fall. In size, in years, and in youthful appearance a boy only, his power to command men was surpassingly great. This power, combined with a fine intellect, an indomitable energy, and a taste altogether military, constituted in him, as seemed to me, the best natural talent in that department I ever knew.

And yet he was singularly modest and deferential in social intercourse. My acquaintance with him began less than two years ago; yet through the latter half of the intervening period it was as intimate as the disparity of our ages and my engrossing engagements would permit. To me he appeared to have no indulgences or pastimes; and I never heard him utter a profane

or an intemperate word. What was conclusive of his good heart, he never forgot his parents. The honors he labored for so laudably, and for which in the sad end he so gallantly gave his life, he meant for them no less than for himself.

In the hope that it may be no intrusion upon the sacredness of your sorrow, I have ventured to address you this tribute to the memory of my young friend and your brave and early fallen child.

May God give you that consolation which is beyond all earthly power.

Sincerely your friend in a common affliction,

A. Lincoln.

Emancipation Proclamation.

[See Chase, Salmon P., Sept. 2, 1863.]

Embree, E.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, May 25, 1849.

Hon. E. Embree.

Dear Sir: I am about to ask a favor of you,—one which I hope will not cost you much. I understand the General Land Office is about to be given to Illinois, and that Mr. Ewing desires Justin Butterfield, of Chicago, to be the man. I give you my word, the appointment of Mr. Butterfield will be an egregious political blunder. It will give offense to the whole Whig party here, and be worse than a dead loss to the administration of so much of its patronage. Now, if you can conscientiously do so, I wish you to write General Taylor at once, saying that either I, or the man I recommend, should in your opinion

be appointed to that office, if any one from Illinois shall be. I restrict my request to Illinois because you may have a man from your own State, and I do not ask to interfere with that.

Your friend as ever,

A. Lincoln.

EVANS, E. P.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., November 23, 1863.

E. P. Evans, West Union, Adams County, Ohio:

Yours to Governor Chase in behalf of John A. Welch is before me. Can there be a worse case than to desert and with letters persuading others to desert? I cannot interpose without a better showing than you make. When did he desert? When did he write the letters?

A. Lincoln.

EVANS, FRENCH S.

[See CHASE, SALMON P., May 6, 1861.]

EVERETT, EDWARD.

[*Letter of Introduction.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 24, 1862.

Whom it May Concern: Hon. Edward Everett goes to Europe shortly. His reputation and the present condition of our country are such that his visit there is sure to attract notice, and may be misconstrued. I therefore think fit to say that he bears no mission from this government; and yet no gentleman is better able to correct misunderstandings in the minds of foreigners in regard to American affairs.

While I commend him to the consideration of those whom he may meet, I am quite conscious that he could better introduce me than I him in Europe.

Abraham Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 20, 1863.

Hon. Edward Everett.

My dear Sir: Your kind note of to-day is received. In our respective parts yesterday, you could not have been excused to make a short address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know that, in your judgment, the little I did say was not entirely a failure. Of course I knew Mr. Everett would not fail, and yet, while the whole discourse was eminently satisfactory, and will be of great value, there were passages in it which transcended my expectations. The point made against the theory of the General Government being only an agency whose principals are the States, was new to me, and, as I think, is one of the best arguments for the national supremacy. The tribute to our noble women for their angel ministering to the suffering soldiers surpasses in its way, as do the subjects of it, whatever has gone before.

Our sick boy, for whom you kindly inquire, we hope is past the worst.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 4, 1864.

Hon. Edward Everett.

My dear Sir: Yours of January 30 was re-

ceived four days ago, and since then the address mentioned has arrived. Thank you for it.

I send herewith the manuscript of my remarks at Gettysburg, which, with my note to you of November 20, you are at liberty to use for the benefit of our soldiers, as you have requested.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

EWING, THOMAS H.

Springfield, Illinois, April 7, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of the Home Department.

Dear Sir: I recommend that William Butler be appointed Pension Agent for the Illinois agency, when the place shall be vacant. Mr. Hurst, the present incumbent, I believe, has performed the duties very well. He is a decided partisan, and, I believe, expects to be removed. Whether he shall, I submit to the Department. This office is not confined to my district, but pertains to the whole State; so that Colonel Baker has an equal right with myself to be heard concerning it.

However, the office is located here; and I think it is not probable that any one would desire to remove from a distance to take it.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, April 7, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of the Home Department.

Dear Sir: I recommend that Walter Davis be appointed Receiver of the Land Office at this place, whenever there shall be a vacancy. I cannot say that Mr. Herndon, the present incumbent,

has failed in the proper discharge of any of the duties of the office. He is a very warm partisan, and openly and actively opposed to the election of General Taylor. I also understand that since General Taylor's election, he has received a reappointment from Mr. Polk, his old commission not having expired. Whether this is true the records of the department will show. I may add that the Whigs here almost universally desire his removal.

I give no opinion of my own, but state the facts, and express the hope that the department will act in this as in all other cases on some proper general rule.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

P. S. The land district to which this office belongs is very nearly if not entirely within my district; so that Colonel Baker, the other Whig representative, claims no voice in the appointment.

Springfield, Illinois, April 7, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of the Home Department.

Dear Sir: I recommend that Turner R. King, now of Pekin, Illinois, be appointed Register of the Land Office at this place whenever there shall be a vacancy.

I do not know that Mr. Barret, the present incumbent, has failed in the proper discharge of any of his duties in the office. He is a decided partisan, and openly and actively opposed the election of General Taylor. I understand, too, that since the election of General Taylor, Mr. Barret has received a reappointment from Mr. Polk, his old commission not having expired.

Whether this be true, the records of the Department will show.

Whether he should be removed I give no opinion, but merely express the wish that the Department may act upon some proper general rule, and that Mr. Barret's case may not be made an exception to it.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

P. S. The land district to which this office belongs is very nearly if not entirely within my district; so that Colonel Baker, the other Whig representative, claims no voice in the appointment.

Springfield, Illinois, May 10, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of the Interior.

Dear Sir: I regret troubling you so often in relation to the land offices here, but I hope you will perceive the necessity of it, and excuse me. On the 7th of April I wrote you recommending Turner R. King for Register, and Walter Davis for Receiver. Subsequently I wrote you that, for a private reason, I had concluded to transpose them. That private reason was the request of an old personal friend who himself desired to be Receiver, but whom I felt it my duty to refuse a recommendation. He said if I would transpose King and Davis he would be satisfied. I thought it a whim, but, anxious to oblige him, I consented. Immediately, he commenced an assault upon King's character, intending, as I suppose, to defeat his appointment, and thereby secure another chance for himself. This double offense of bad faith to me and slander upon a good man is so totally outrageous that I now

ask to have King and Davis placed as I originally recommended.—that is, King for Register and Davis for Receiver.

An effort is being made now to have Mr. Barret, the present Register, retained. I have already said he has done the duties of the office well, and I now add he is a gentleman in the true sense. Still, he submits to be the instrument of his party to injure us. His high character enables him to do it more effectually. Last year he presided at the convention which nominated the Democratic candidate for Congress in this district, and afterward ran for the State Senate himself, not desiring the seat, but avowedly to aid and strengthen his party. He made speech after speech with a degree of fierceness and coarseness against General Taylor not quite consistent with his habitually gentlemanly deportment. At least one (and I think more) of those who are now trying to have him retained was himself an applicant for this very office, and, failing to get my recommendation, now takes this turn.

In writing you a third time in relation to these offices, I stated that I supposed charges had been forwarded to you against King, and that I would inquire into the truth of them. I now send you herewith what I suppose will be an ample defense against any such charges. I ask attention to all the papers, but particularly to the letters of Mr. David Mack, and the paper with the long list of names. There is no mistake about King's being a good man. After the unjust assault upon him, and considering the just claims of Tazewell County, as indicated in the letters I inclose you, it would in my opinion be injustice, and withal

a blunder, not to appoint him, at least as soon as any one is appointed to either of the offices here.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Ill., June 3, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of the Interior.

Dear Sir: Vandalia, the Receiver's office at which place is the subject of the within, is not in my district; and I have been much perplexed to express any preference between Dr. Stapp and Mr. Remann. If any one man is better qualified for such an office than all others, Dr. Stapp is that man; still, I believe a large majority of the Whigs in the District prefer Mr. Remann, who also is a good man. Perhaps the papers on file will enable you to judge better than I can. The writers of the within are good men, residing within the Land District.

Your obt. servant,

A. Lincoln.

[See CHICAGO "JOURNAL."]

FAIR, SAILORS', AT BOSTON.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., November 8, 1864.

To the Managing Committee of the Sailors' Fair, Boston, Massachusetts:

Allow me to wish you a great success. With the old fame of the navy made brighter in the present war you cannot fail. I name none lest I wrong others by omission. To all, from rear-admiral to honest Jack, I tender the nation's admiration and gratitude.

A. Lincoln.

Fair, Sanitary, at Chicago.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, October 26, 1863.

Ladies having in Charge the Northwestern Fair for the Sanitary Commission, Chicago, Illinois:

According to the request made in your behalf, the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation is herewith inclosed. The formal words at the top and the conclusion, except the signature, you perceive, are not in my handwriting. They were written at the State Department, by whom I know not. The printed part was cut from a copy of the preliminary proclamation, and pasted on, merely to save writing. I had some desire to retain the paper; but if it shall contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldiers, that will be better.

Your obedient servant,
A. Lincoln.

Farragut, David G., and Others.

[*Message to Congress.*]

May 14, 1862.

The President recommends "that Captain D. G. Farragut receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his services and gallantry displayed in the capture, since the 21st of December, 1861, of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, city of New Orleans, and the destruction of various rebel gun-boats, rams, etc." The President names thirty other officers who distinguished themselves in these operations, and recommends that they also receive the thanks of Congress.

[*Inclosure.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 6, 1864.

Naval Officer in command at Mobile Bay:

Do not on any account, or on any showing of authority whatever, from whomsoever purporting to come, allow the blockade to be violated.

A. Lincoln.

[See CANBY, E. R. S., Dec. 12, 1864.]

FELL, JESSE W.

Springfield, December 20, 1859.

J. W. Fell, Esq.

My dear Sir: Herewith is a little sketch, as you requested. There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me. If anything be made out of it, I wish it to be modest, and not to go beyond the material. If it were thought necessary to incorporate anything from any of my speeches, I suppose there would be no objection. Of course it must not appear to have been written by myself.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

I was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kertucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families—second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now

reside in Adams, and others in Macon County, Illinois. My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky about 1781 or 1782, where a year or two later he was killed by the Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.

My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union. It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond "readin', writin', and cipherin'" to the rule of three. If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write and cipher to the rule of three, but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education, I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity.

I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twenty-two. At twenty-one I came to Illinois, Macon County. Then I got to New Salem, at that time in Sangamon, now in Menard County, where I remained a year as a sort of clerk in a store. Then came the Black Hawk war; and I was elected a captain of volunteers, a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since. I went the campaign, was elated, ran for the legislature the same year (1832), and was beaten—the only time I have ever been beaten by the people. The next and three succeeding biennial elections I was elected to the legislature. I was not a candidate afterward. During this legislative period I had studied law, and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846 I was once elected to the lower House of Congress. Was not a candidate for reëlection. From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before. Always a Whig in politics; and generally on the Whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri compromise aroused me again. What I have done since that is pretty well known.

If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said I am, in height, six feet four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair and gray eyes. No other marks or brands recollected.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[For other autobiographies see HICKS, THOMAS, and LINCOLN, ABRAHAM.]

Fenton, Sallie A.

[See Russell, Caleb.]

Ferguson, R. L.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 7, 1865.

R. L. Ferguson, Provost-Marshal, Warrensburg, Missouri:

Suspend, until further order, proceedings to enforce a bond given by Hicklin, Hicklin & Spratt. It is not my view of the law that provost-marshals are to decide whether bonds are or are not forfeited.

A. Lincoln.

Ficklin, O. B.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 22, 1864.

Hon. O. B. Ficklin.

Dear Sir: I had about concluded to send the Coles County men home, turning over the indicted to the authorities and discharging the others, when Col. Oaks's report with the evidence he had taken in the case was put in my hand. The evidence is very voluminous, and Colonel Oaks says it fully implicates every one of the sixteen now held; and so far as I have been able to look into it his statement is sustained. I cannot now decide the case until I shall have fully examined this evidence.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Field, Christopher F., and Clay, Christopher F.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, ———, 1864.

Confiding in the representations and assurances made and given by Hon. Brutus J. Clay, of Kentucky, that if permitted and afforded reasonable protection and facilities by the government, his brother-in-law, Christopher F. Field, and his son, Christopher F. Clay, having, prior to the rebellion, had ownership and lawful control of several plantations in Mississippi and Arkansas would put said plantations into cultivation, upon the system of free hired labor, recognizing and acknowledging the freedom of the laborers, and totally excluding from said plantations the slave sytem of labor, and all actual slavery, and would neither do nor permit anything on said plantations which would aid the rebellion, it is hereby ordered that said Christopher F. Field, and Christopher F. Clay, or either of them, be permitted to so put said plantations, or any of them, into cultivation; and that the military, and all others acting by the authority of the United States, are to favor and facilitate said Field and Clay in the carrying forward said business in good faith, by giving them protection, and allowing them to procure and take to the proper points, the necessary supplies of all kinds, and by doing and forbearing in whatever way will advance the object aforesaid; provided that no existing military or trade regulations, nor any military necessity be transcended or overridden thereby.

Abraham Lincoln.

Filley, O. D.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 22, 1863.

O. D. Filley, St. Louis, Missouri:

I have just looked over a petition signed by some three dozen citizens of St. Louis, and three accompanying letters, one by yourself, one by a Mr. Nathan Ranney, and one by a Mr. John D. Coalter, the whole relating to the Rev. Dr. McPheeters. The petition prays, in the name of justice and mercy, that I will restore Dr. McPheeters to all his ecclestiastical rights. This gives no intimation as to what ecclesiastical rights are withheld.

Your letter states that Provost-Marshal Dick, about a year ago, ordered the arrest of Dr. McPheeters, pastor of the Vine Street Church, prohibited him from officiating, and placed the management of the affairs of the church out of the control of its chosen trustees; and near the close you state that a certain course "would insure his release." Mr. Ranney's letter says: "Dr. Samuel S. McPheeters is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, but cannot preach the Gospel!!!" Mr. Coalter, in his letter asks: "Is it not a strange illustration of the condition of things, that the question of who shall be allowed to preach in a church in St. Louis shall be decided by the President of the United States?"

Now, all this sounds very strangely; and, withal, a little as if you gentlemen making the application do not understand the case alike; one affirming that the doctor is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, and another pointing out to me what will secure his *release!* On the sec-

ond day of January last, I wrote to General Curtis in relation to Mr. Dick's order upon Dr. McPheeters; and, as I suppose the doctor is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, I only quote that part of my letter which relates to the church. It is as follows: "But I must add that the United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual, in a church or out of it, becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but the churches, as such, must take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches."

This letter going to General Curtis, then in command there, I supposed, of course, it was obeyed, especially as I heard no further complaint from Dr. McPheeters or his friends for nearly an entire year. I have never interfered, nor thought of interfering, as to who shall or shall not preach in any church; nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated any one else to so interfere by my authority. If any one is so interfering by color of my authority, I would like to have it specifically made known to me.

If, after all, what is now sought is to have me put Dr. McPheeters back over the heads of a majority of his own congregation, that, too, will be declined. I will not have control of any church on any side.

Yours respectfully,

A. Lincoln.

Fishback, W. M.

War Department,
Washington, February 17, 1864.

William M. Fishback, Little Rock, Arkansas:

When I fixed a plan for an election in Arkansas I did it in ignorance that your convention was doing the same work. Since I learned the latter fact I have been constantly trying to yield my plan to them. I have sent two letters to General Steele, and three or four despatches to you and others, saying that he, General Steele, must be master, but that it will probably be best for him to merely help the convention on its own plan. Some single mind must be master, else there will be no agreement in anything, and General Steele, commanding the military and being on the ground, is the best man to be that master. Even now citizens are telegraphing me to postpone the election to a later day than either that fixed by the convention or by me. This discord must be silenced.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., March 12, 1864.

William Fishback, Fort Smith, Arkansas:

I know not that any change of departmental lines is likely to be made in Arkansas; but if done, it will be for purely military reasons, to which the good people there can have no just cause of objection. Get out the largest vote you can, and the largest part of it on the right side that is possible.

A. Lincoln.

Fisher, C. H.

[*Portion of Letter.*]

Springfield, Illinois, August 27, 1860.

C. H. Fisher.

Dear Sir: Your second note, inclosing the supposed speech of Mr. Dallas to Lord Brougham, is received. I have read the speech quite through, together with the real author's introductory and closing remarks. I have also looked through the long preface of the book to-day. Both seem to be well written, and contain many things with which I could agree, and some with which I could not. A specimen of the latter is the declaration, in the closing remarks upon the "speech," that the institution is a "necessity" imposed on us by the negro race. That the going many thousand miles, seizing a set of savages, bringing them here, and making slaves of them is a necessity imposed on us by them involves a species of logic to which my mind will scarcely assent.

Fisher, G. P.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 16, 1862.

Hon. Geo. P. Fisher.

My dear Sir: I was painfully surprised by your letter, handed me by the Postmaster-General, because the Secretary of War, who saw you after I did, had assured me that you and accompanying friends were fully satisfied with what he had undertaken to do. Since receiving your letter I have seen him again, and he again assures me that such was his understanding. I

went over your eight points with him to see which he accepted, and which he rejected.

He rejects that about postponing the drafting till the 15th of September.

He accepts that about the Third Delaware Regiment.

He accepts that about Colonel Grimshaw's regiment.

He accepts that about the battery of artillery, if it be the battery heretofore authorized.

He accepts that about the battalion of cavalry.

He accepts that about forces remaining in the State.

He rejects that about drafting being made under the marshal of the district. He thinks he could not be justified to thus snub the governor, who is apparently doing right; but he will at once check anything which may be apparently wrong.

He accepts that about appointing officers by the War Department, unless some serious and now unforeseen obstacle shall be presented.

I do hope you will be able to get along upon this. The secretary feels very sure that Judge Gilpin thinks you can. I mean this as a private letter, but I am quite willing for you to show it to Judge Gilpin.

I do hope you will not indulge a thought which will admit of your saying the administration turns you over to the fury of your enemies.

You certainly know I wish you success as much as you can wish it yourself.

Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

FISK, CLINTON B.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, October 29, 1863.

General Clinton B. Fisk.

My dear Sir: I have just received and read your very kind and instructive letter of the 24th, for which please accept my thanks. It is so free from passion, and so full of charity and good-will, that I regret not having time to do more than acknowledge the receipt of it.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

FITHIAN, WILLIAM.

Bloomington, Sept. 3, 1858.

Dr. William Fithian, Danville, Ill.

Dear Doctor: Yours of the 1st was received this morning, as also one from Mr. Harmon, and one from Hiram Beckwith on the same subject. You will see by the "Journal" that I have appointed to speak at Danville on the 22nd of Sept., the day after Douglas speaks there. My recent experience shows that speaking at the same place the next day after D. is the very thing,—it is, in fact, a concluding speech on him. Please show this to Messrs. Harmon and Beckwith; and tell them they must excuse me from writing separate letters to them.

Yours as ever,
A. Lincoln.

P. S.—Give full notice to all surrounding country.

A. L.

Flanders, B. F.

[See Chase, Salmon P., May 13, 1863, and Banks, Nathaniel P., Aug. 5, 1863, and Nov. 5, 1863.]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., November 9, 1863.

Hon. B. F. Flanders.

My dear Sir: In a conversation with General Butler, he made a suggestion which impressed me a good deal at the time. It was that, as a preliminary step, a vote be taken, yea or nay, whether there shall be a State convention to repeal the ordinance of secession and remodel the State constitution. I send it merely as a suggestion for your consideration, not having considered it maturely myself.

The point which impressed me was, not so much the questions to be voted on, as the effect of crystallizing, so to speak, in taking such popular vote on any proper question.

In fact, I have always thought the act of secession is legally nothing, and needs no repealing. Turn the thought over in your mind, and see if in your own judgment you can make anything of it.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Fleming, J. M., and Morrow, R.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 9, 1863.

Messrs. Jno. M. Fleming and R. Morrow.

Gentlemen: The petition of which you were the bearers has just been handed me. Your cards and notes had come to me on two or three

successive days before; and I knew then, as well as I do now after reading the petition, what your mission was. I knew it was the same true and painful story which Governor Johnson, Mr. Maynard, Dr. Clements, and others have been telling me for more than two years. I also knew that meeting you could do no good, because I have all the while done, and shall continue to do, the best for you I could and can. I do as much for East Tennessee as I would or could if my own home and family were in Knoxville. The difficulties of getting a Union army into that region, and of keeping it there, are so apparent—so obvious—that none can fail to see them, unless it may be those who are driven mad and blind by their sufferings. Start by whatever route they may, their lines of supply are broken before they get half way. A small force sufficient to beat the enemy now there would be of no value, because the enemy would reinforce to meet them, until we should have to give back or accumulate so large a force as to be very difficult to supply, and as to ruin us entirely if a great disaster should befall it. I know you are too much distressed to be argued with, and therefore I do not attempt it at length. You know I am not indifferent to your troubles, else I should not, more than a year and a half ago, have made the effort I did to have a railroad built on purpose to relieve you. The Secretary of War, General Halleck, General Burnside, and General Rosecrans are all engaged now in an effort to relieve your section. But, remember, you will probably thwart them if you make this public. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

FLETCHER, THOMAS C.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 20, 1865.

His Excellency Governor Fletcher:

It seems that there is now no organized military force of the enemy in Missouri, and yet that destruction of property and life is rampant everywhere. Is not the cure for this within easy reach of the people themselves? It cannot but be that every man not naturally a robber or cut-throat would gladly put an end to this state of things. A large majority in every locality must feel alike upon this subject; and if so, they only need to reach an understanding, one with another. Each leaving all others alone solves the problem; and surely each would do this but for his apprehension that others will not leave him alone. Cannot this mischievous distrust be removed? Let neighborhood meetings be everywhere called and held, of all entertaining a sincere purpose for mutual security in the future, whatever they may heretofore have thought, said or done about the war, or about anything else. Let all such meet, and, waiving all else, pledge each to cease harassing others, and to make common cause against whoever persists in making, aiding, or encouraging further disturbance. The practical means they will best know how to adopt and apply. At such meetings old friendships will cross the memory, and honor and Christian charity will come in to help.

Please consider whether it may not be well to suggest this to the now afflicted people of Missouri. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 27, 1865.

Governor Fletcher, Jefferson City, Missouri:

Have you received my letter of the 20th? I think some such thing as therein suggested is needed. If you put it before the people, I will direct the military to coöperate. Please answer.

A. Lincoln.

FOLLET, FOSTER & COMPANY.

[See GALLOWAY, SAMUEL, June 19, 1860.]

FOOTE, ANDREW H.

Navy Department,
Washington, April 1, 1861.

To the Commandant of the Navy-Yard, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Fit out the *Powhatan* to go to sea at the earliest possible moment under sealed orders. Orders by a confidential messenger go forward to-morrow.

Abraham Lincoln.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I most cordially recommend that Captain Andrew H. Foote, of the United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his eminent services in organizing the flotilla on the western waters, and for his gallantry at Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Island Number Ten, and at various other places, whilst in command of

the naval forces, embracing a period of nearly ten months.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., July 1, 1862.

Forney, John W.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 28, 1864.

Hon. John W. Forney.

My dear Sir: Your note announcing your intended visit to Europe takes me somewhat by surprise. Nevertheless I am glad for you to have the relaxation, though I regret the necessity which compels it. I have no European personal acquaintances, or I would gladly give you letters.

I shall be pleased to see you in Washington before you leave, for a special reason, and the sooner you could come the better.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Foster, J. G.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 8, 1863.

General Foster:

This will be handed you by Governor Peirpoint of Virginia.

He goes, among other things, seeking to adjust a difficulty at Norfolk and Portsmouth. It seems there is a large number of families in Portsmouth who are destitute and whose natural supporters are in the rebel army or have been killed in it. These destitute families must live somehow, and it seems the city authorities on one

side, and our military on the other, are in ruinous conflict about the mode of providing.

Governor Peirpoint is a good man, and if you will place him in conference and amicable relations with the military authority in the vicinity, I do not doubt that much good will come of it. Please do it.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., October 15, 1863.

Major-General Foster, Fort Monroe, Va.:

Postpone the execution of Dr. Wright to Friday the 23d instant, (October). This is intended for his preparation and is final.

A. Lincoln.

(*Cipher.*)

War Department,
Washington, D. C., October 17, 1863.

Major-General Foster, Fort Monroe, Va.:

It would be useless for Mrs. Dr. Wright to come here. The subject is a very painful one, but the case is settled.

A. Lincoln.

Fox, Gustavus V.

Washington, D. C., May 1, 1861.

Captain G. V. Fox.

My dear Sir: I sincerely regret that the failure of the late attempt to provision Fort Sumter should be the source of any annoyance to you.

The practicability of your plan was not, in fact, brought to a test. By reason of a gale, well

known in advance to be possible and not improbable, the tugs, an essential part of the plan, never reached the ground; while, by an accident for which you were in no wise responsible, and possibly I to some extent was, you were deprived of a war vessel, with her men, which you deemed of great importance to the enterprise.

I most cheerfully and truly declare that the failure of the undertaking has not lowered you a particle, while the qualities you developed in the effort have greatly heightened you in my estimation.

For a daring and dangerous enterprise of a similar character you would to-day be the man of all my acquaintances whom I would select. You and I both anticipated that the cause of the country would be advanced by making the attempt to provision Fort Sumter, even if it should fail; and it is no small consolation now to feel that our anticipation is justified by the result.

Very truly your friend,

A. Lincoln.

[*Instructions.*]

Navy Department,
March 10, 1862. 10.27 a. m.

Captain G. V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of Navy,
Fort Monroe:

It is directed by the President that the *Monitor* be not too much exposed, and that in no event shall any attempt be made to proceed with her unattended to Norfolk. If vessels can be procured and loaded with stone and sunk in the channel, it is important that it should be done. *San Jacinto* and *Dacotah* have sailed

from Boston for Hampton Roads, and the *Sabine* in tow of *Baltic,* and a tug from New York. Gunboats will be ordered forthwith. Would it not be well to detain the *Minnesota* until other vessels arrive?

Gideon Welles.

FRANCIS, SIMEON.

[See ADDISON, JOHN.]

FRANKLIN, W. B., AND SMITH, W. F.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 22, 1862.

Major-General Franklin and Major-General Smith:

Yours of the 20th, suggesting a plan of operations for the Army of the Potomac, is received. I have hastily read the plan, and shall yet try to give it more deliberate consideration, with the aid of military men. Meanwhile let me say it seems to me to present the old questions of preference between the line of the Peninsula and the line you are now upon. The difficulties you point out as pertaining to the Fredericksburg line are obvious and palpable. But now, as heretofore, if you go to James River, a large part of the army must remain on or near the Fredericksburg line, to protect Washington. It is the old difficulty.

When I saw General Franklin at Harrison's Landing on James River last July, I cannot be mistaken in saying that he distinctly advised the bringing of the army away from there.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[For order relating to Franklin, of Jan. 25, 1863, see BURNSIDE, AMBROSE E.]

FRAZER, W. E.

Springfield, Illinois, November 1, 1859.
W. E. Frazer, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 24th ult. was forwarded to me from Chicago. It certainly is important to secure Pennsylvania for the Republicans in the next presidential contest, and not unimportant to also secure Illinois. As to the ticket you name, I shall be heartily for it after it shall have been fairly nominated by a Republican national convention; and I cannot be committed to it before. For my single self, I have enlisted for the permanent success of the Republican cause; and for this object I shall labor faithfully in the ranks, unless, as I think not probable, the judgment of the party shall assign me a different position. If the Republicans of the great State of Pennsylvania shall present Mr. Cameron as their candidate for the presidency, such an indorsement for his fitness for the place could scarcely be deemed insufficient. Still, as I would not like the public to know, so I would not like myself to know, I had entered a combination with any man to the prejudice of all others whose friends respectively may consider them preferable.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

FRÉMONT, JOHN C.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, August 15, 1861.

To Major-General Frémont: Been answering your messages since day before yesterday. Do you receive the answers? The War Department

has notified all the governors you designate to forward all available force. So telegraphed you. Have you received these messages? Answer immediately.

A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., September 2, 1861.
Major-General Frémont.

My dear Sir: Two points in your proclamation of August 30 give me some anxiety:

First. Should you shoot a man, according to the proclamation, the Confederates would very certainly shoot our best men in their hands in retaliation; and so, man for man, indefinitely. It is, therefore, my order that you allow no man to be shot under the proclamation without first having my approbation or consent.

Second: I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberating slaves of traitorous owners, will alarm our Southern Union friends and turn them against us; perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky. Allow me, therefore, to ask that you will, as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the first and fourth sections of the act of Congress entitled, "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, and a copy of which act I herewith send you.

This letter is written in a spirit of caution, and not of censure. I send it by special messenger, in order that it may certainly and speedily reach you.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Order.*]

Washington, September 11, 1861.

Major-General John C. Frémont.

Sir: Yours of the 8th, in answer to mine of the 2d instant, is just received. Assuming that you, upon the ground, could better judge of the necessities of your position than I could at this distance, on seeing your proclamation of August 30 I perceived no general objection to it. The particular clause, however, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves appeared to me to be objectionable in its nonconformity to the act of Congress passed the 6th of last August upon the same subjects; and hence I wrote you, expressing my wish that that clause should be modified accordingly. Your answer, just received, expresses the preference on your part that I should make an open order for the modification, which I very cheerfully do. It is therefore ordered that the said clause of said proclamation be so modified, held, and construed as to conform to, and not to transcend, the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress entitled, "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, and that said act be published at length with this order.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[See Frémont, Mrs. John C., Sep. 12, 1861.]

[*Order.*]

Washington, September 22, 1861.

Major-General Frémont:

Governor Morton telegraphs as follows: "Col-

onel Lane, just arrived by special train, represents Owensborough, forty miles above Evansville, in possession of secessionists. Green River is navigable. Owensborough must be seized. We want a gunboat sent up from Paducah for that purpose." Send up the gunboat if, in your discretion, you think it right. Perhaps you had better order those in charge of the Ohio River to guard it vigilantly at all points.

[See BROWNING, O. H., Sep. 22, 1861.]

[*General Orders No. 18.*]

Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, October 14, 1861.

Major-General Frémont, of the United States Army, the present commander of the Western Department of the same, will, on the receipt of this order, call Major-General Hunter, of the United States Volunteers, to relieve him temporarily in that command, when he (Major-General Frémont) will report to general headquarters by letter for further orders.

Winfield Scott.

By command: E. D. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Washington, October 24, 1861.

To the Commander of the Department of the West.

Sir: The command of the Department of the West having devolved upon you, I propose to offer you a few suggestions. Knowing how hazardous it is to bind down a distant commander in the field to specific lines and operations, as so much always depends on a knowledge of localities and passing events, it is intended, therefore, to

leave a considerable margin for the exercise of your judgment and discretion.

The main rebel army (Price's) west of the Mississippi is believed to have passed Dade County in full retreat upon northwestern Arkansas, leaving Missouri almost freed from the enemy, excepting in the southeast of the State. Assuming this basis of facts, it seems desirable, as you are not likely to overtake Price, and are in danger of making too long a line from your own base of supplies and reinforcements, that you should give up the pursuit, halt your main army, divide it into two corps of observation, one occupying Sedalia and the other Rolla, the present termini of railroads; then recruit the condition of both corps, by reëstablishing and improving their discipline and instructions, perfecting their clothing and equipments, and providing less uncomfortable quarters. Of course both railroads must be guarded and kept open, judiciously employing just so much force as is necessary for this. From these two points, Sedalia and Rolla, and especially in judicious coöperation with Lane on the Kansas border, it would be so easy to concentrate and repel any army of the enemy returning on Missouri from the southwest, that it is not probable any such attempt will be made before or during the approaching cold weather. Before spring the people of Missouri will probably be in no favorable mood to renew for next year the troubles which have so much afflicted and impoverished them during this. If you adopt this line of policy, and if, as I anticipate, you will see no enemy in great force approaching, you will have a surplus force which you can withdraw from these points and direct

to others as may be needed, the railroads furnishing ready means of reinforcing these main points if occasion requires. Doubtless local uprisings will for a time continue to occur, but these can be met by detachments and local forces of our own, and will ere long tire out of themselves.

While, as stated in the beginning of the letter, a large discretion must be and is left with yourself, I feel sure that an indefinite pursuit of Price or an attempt by this long and circuitous route to reach Memphis will be exhaustive beyond endurance, and will end in the loss of the whole force engaged in it.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[See CURTIS, S. R., Oct. 24, 1861.]

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 16, 1862.

Major-General Frémont, Franklin:

The President desires to know whether you design to move on to the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad and break it between Newbern and Salem, according to the plan you proposed and he approved; and also whether, having reached and broken that road, you cannot move forward rapidly upon Richmond by that route; and by what time you can reach the railroad, and how long it will take you from there to reach Richmond. Please answer immediately.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 24, 1862. 4 p. m.

Major-General Frémont, Franklin:

You are authorized to purchase the 400 horses,

or take them wherever or however you can get them.

The exposed condition of General Banks makes his immediate relief a point of paramount importance. You are therefore directed by the President to move against Jackson at Harrisonburg and operate against the enemy in such way as to relieve Banks. This movement must be made immediately. You will acknowledge the receipt of this order, and specify the hour it is received by you.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
May 24, 1862. 7.15 p. m.

Major-General Frémont, Franklin, Virginia:

Many thanks for the promptness with which you have answered that you will execute the order. Much—perhaps all—depends upon the celerity with which you can execute it. Put the utmost speed into it. Do not lose a minute.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

May 27, 1862. 9.58 p. m.

Major-General Frémont:

I see that you are at Moorefield. You were expressly ordered to march to Harrisonburg. What does this mean?

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 28, 1862.

Major-General Frémont, Moorefield:

The President directs you to halt at Moorefield

and await orders, unless you hear of the enemy being in the general direction of Romney, in which case you will move upon him.

Acknowledge the receipt of this order, and the hour it is received.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 28, 1862.

Major-General Frémont, Moorefield:

The following despatch has just been received from General Hamilton, at Harper's Ferry:

Harper's Ferry, May 28.

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

There is very little doubt that Jackson's force is between Winchester and Charlestown. His troops were too much fatigued to pursue Banks. A large body of rebel cavalry is near Charlestown now.

Jackson and Ewell were near Bunker Hill yesterday at noon.

Of this last there is no doubt.

C. S. Hamilton, Brigadier-General.

The above probably indicates the true position of the enemy at this time. The President directs you to move upon him by the best route you can.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 28, 1862. 11 p. m.

Major-General John C. Frémont, Moorefield:

The order to remain at Moorefield was based on the supposition that it would find you there.

Upon subsequent information that the enemy were still operating in the vicinity of Winchester

and Martinsburg, you were directed to move against the enemy.

The President now again directs you to move against the enemy without delay.

Please acknowledge the receipt of this, and the time received.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 29, 1862. 12 m.

Major-General Frémont, Moorefield, Virginia:

General McDowell's advance, if not checked by the enemy, should, and probably will, be at Front Royal by twelve (noon) to-morrow. His force, when up, will be about 20,000. Please have your force at Strasburg, or, if the route you are moving on does not lead to that point, as near Strasburg as the enemy may be by the same time. Your despatch No. 30 received and satisfactory.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 30, 1862. 11.30 a. m.

Major-General Frémont, Moorefield, Virginia:

Yours of this morning from Moorefield just received. There cannot be more than 20,000, probably not more than 15,000, of the enemy at or about Winchester. Where is your force? It ought this minute to be near Strasburg. Answer at once.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 30, 1862. 2.30 p. m.

Major-General Frémont, Moorefield, Virginia:

Yours, saying you will reach Strasburg or

vicinity at 5 p. m. Saturday, has been received and sent to General McDowell, and he directed to act in view of it. You must be up to time you promised, if possible.

Corinth was evacuated last night, and is occupied by our troops to-day; the enemy gone south to Okolona, on the railroad to Mobile.

A. Lincoln.

[See McDOWELL, IRVIN, May 30, 1862.]

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 9, 1862.

Major-General Frémont:

Halt at Harrisonburg, pursuing Jackson no farther. Get your force well in hand and stand on the defensive, guarding against a movement of the enemy either back toward Strasburg or toward Franklin, and await further orders, which will soon be sent you.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 12, 1862. 1 a. m.

Major-General Frémont:

Your despatch of yesterday to the President has just been received.

He directs me to say that Mount Jackson will serve the purpose he had in view as well as Harrisonburg, except that it does not so well guard against the enemy's operations toward western Virginia. But if, in view of all the circumstances, you prefer the position of Mount Jackson, you will occupy it instead of Harrisonburg.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

Washington, June 12, 1862.

Major-General Frémont:

Accounts, which we do not credit, represent that Jackson is largely reinforced and turning upon you. Get your forces well in hand and keep us well and frequently advised; and if you find yourself really pressed by a superior force of the enemy, fall back cautiously toward or to Winchester, and we will have in due time Banks in position to sustain you. Do not fall back upon Harrisonburg unless upon tolerably clear necessity. We understand Jackson is on the other side of the Shenandoah from you, and hence cannot in any event press you into any necessity of a precipitate withdrawal.

A. Lincoln.

P. S. Yours, preferring Mount Jackson to Harrisonburg, is just received. On this point use your discretion, remembering that our object is to give such protection as you can to western Virginia. Many thanks to yourself, officers, and men for the gallant battle of last Sunday.

A. L.

Washington, June 13, 1862.

Major-General Frémont:

We cannot afford to keep your force and Banks's and McDowell's engaged in keeping Jackson south of Strasburg and Front Royal. You fought Jackson alone and worsted him. He can have no substantial reinforcements so long as a battle is pending at Richmond. Surely you and Banks in supporting distance are capable of keeping him from returning to Winchester. But if Sigel be sent forward to you, and McDowell (as he must) be put to other work, Jackson will

break through at Front Royal again. He is already on the right side of the Shenandoah to do it, and on the wrong side of it to attack you. The orders already sent you and Banks place you and him in the proper positions for the work assigned you. Jackson cannot move his whole force on either of you before the other can learn of it and go to his assistance. He cannot divide his force, sending part against each of you, because he will be too weak for either. Please do as I directed in the order of the 8th and my despatch of yesterday, the 12th, and neither you nor Banks will be overwhelmed by Jackson. By proper scout lookouts, and beacons of smoke by day and fires by night, you can always have timely notice of the enemy's approach. I know not as to you, but by some this has been too much neglected.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington City, D. C., June 15, 1862.

Major-General Frémont:

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 12th by Colonel Zagonyi is just received. In answer to the principal part of it, I repeat the substance of an order of the 8th and one or two telegraphic despatches sent you since.

We have no indefinite power of sending reinforcements; so that we are compelled rather to consider the proper disposal of the forces we have than of those we could wish to have. We may be able to send you some dribs by degrees, but I do not believe we can do more. As you alone beat Jackson last Sunday, I argue that you are stronger than he is to-day, unless he has been reinforced; and that he cannot have been

materially reinforced, because such reinforcement could only have come from Richmond, and he is much more likely to go to Richmond than Richmond is to come to him. Neither is very likely. I think Jackson's game—his assigned work—now is to magnify the accounts of his numbers and reports of his movements, and thus by constant alarms keep three or four times as many of our troops away from Richmond as his own force amounts to. Thus he helps his friends at Richmond three or four times as much as if he were there. Our game is not to allow this. Accordingly, by the order of the 8th, I directed you to halt at Harrisonburg, rest your force, and get it well in hand, the objects being to guard against Jackson's returning by the same route to the upper Potomac, over which you have just driven him out, and at the same time give some protection against a raid into West Virginia. Already I have given you discretion to occupy Mount Jackson instead, if, on full consideration, you think best. I do not believe Jackson will attack you, but certainly he cannot attack you by surprise; and if he comes upon you in superior force, you have but to notify us, fall back cautiously, and Banks will join you in due time. But while we know not whether Jackson will move at all, or by what route, we cannot safely put you and Banks both on the Strasburg line, and leave no force on the Front Royal line —the very line upon which he prosecuted his late raid. The true policy is to place one of you on one line and the other on the other, in such positions that you can unite once you actually find Jackson moving upon it. And this is precisely what we are doing. This protects that part of

our frontier, so to speak, and liberates McDowell to go to the assistance of McClellan. I have arranged this, and am very unwilling to have it deranged. While you have only asked for Sigel, I have spoken only of Banks, and this because Sigel's force is now the principal part of Banks's force.

About transferring General Schenck's command, the purchase of supplies, and the promotion and appointment of officers, mentioned in your letter, I will consult with the Secretary of War to-morrow.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Washington, June 16, 1862.

Major-General Frémont, Mount Jackson, Virginia:

Your despatch of yesterday, reminding me of a supposed understanding that I would furnish you a corps of 35,000 men, and asking of me the "fulfilment of this understanding," is received. I am ready to come to a fair settlement of accounts with you on the fulfilment of understandings.

Early in March last, when I assigned you to the command of the Mountain Department, I did tell you I would give you all the force I could, and that I hoped to make it reach 35,000. You at the same time told me that within a reasonable time you would seize the railroad at or east of Knoxville, Tenn., if you could. There was then in the department a force supposed to be 25,000, the exact number as well known to you as to me. After looking about two or three days, you called and distinctly told me that if I would add

the Blenker division to the force already in the department, you would undertake the job. The Blenker division contained 10,000, and at the expense of great dissatisfaction to General McClellan I took it from his army and gave it to you. My promise was literally fulfilled. I have given you all I could, and I have given you very nearly, if not quite, 35,000.

Now for yours. On the 23d of May, largely over two months afterward, you were at Franklin, Va., not within 300 miles of Knoxville, nor within 80 miles of any part of the railroad east of it, and not moving forward, but telegraphing here that you could not move for lack of everything. Now, do not misunderstand me. I do not say you have not done all you could. I presume you met unexpected difficulties; and I beg you to believe that as surely as you have done your best, so have I. I have not the power now to fill up your corps to 35,000. I am not demanding of you to do the work of 35,000. I am only asking of you to stand cautiously on the defensive, get your force in order, and give such protection as you can to the valley of the Shenandoah and to western Virginia.

Have you received the orders, and will you act upon them?

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 17, 1862.

Major-General Frémont, Mount Jackson:

It is reported here that you understand the President's order to you as requiring you to remain at Mount Jackson. The President directs me to say that he does wish you to hold your position at Mount Jackson if you can safely do

so; but, if pressed beyond your strength, that you will then fall back toward Strasburg, for support from General Banks. General Banks is now here, and will see you immediately upon his return to his command.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

FRÉMONT, MRS. JOHN C. (JESSIE BENTON).

Washington, D. C., September 12, 1861.

Mrs. General Frémont.

My dear Madam: Your two notes of to-day are before me. I answered the letter you bore me from General Frémont on yesterday, and not hearing from you during the day, I sent the answer to him by mail. It is not exactly correct, as you say you were told by the elder Mr. Blair, to say that I sent Postmaster-General Blair to St. Louis to examine into that department and report. Postmaster-General Blair did go, with my approbation, to see and converse with General Frémont as a friend. I do not feel authorized to furnish you with copies of letters in my possession without the consent of the writers. No impression has been made on my mind against the honor or integrity of General Frémont, and I now enter my protest against being understood as acting in any hostility toward him.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

FRENCH, B. B.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 25, 1864.

Hon. B. B. French.

My dear Sir; I understand a bill is before

Congress by your instigation, for taking your office from the control of the Department of the Interior, and considerably enlarging the powers and patronage of your office. The proposed change may be right for aught I know, and it certainly is right for Congress to do as it thinks proper in the case. What I wish to say is, that if the change is made, I do not think I can allow you to retain the office; because that would be encouraging officers to be constantly intriguing, to the detriment of the public interest, in order to profit themselves.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

FRY, JOHN B.

Springfield, Illinois, August 15, 1860.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 9th, inclosing the letter of Hon. John Minor Botts, was duly received. The latter is herewith returned according to your request. It contains one of the many assurances I receive from the South, that in no probable event will there be any very formidable effort to break up the Union. The people of the South have too much of good sense and good temper to attempt the ruin of the government rather than see it administered as it was administered by the men who made it. At least so I hope and believe. I thank you both for your own letter and a sight of that of Mr. Botts.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

John B. Fry, Esq.

GALLOWAY, SAMUEL.

Springfield, Ill., July 27, 1859.

Hon. Samuel Galloway.

My dear Sir: Your letter in relation to the claim of Mr. Ambos for the Columbus Machine Manufacturing Company against Barret and others is received. This has been a somewhat disagreeable matter to me. As I remember, you first wrote me on the general subject, Barret having then had a credit of four or five hundred dollars, and there was some question about his taking the machinery. I think you inquired as to Barret's responsibility; and that I answered I considered him an honest and honorable man, having a great deal of property, owing a good many debts, and hard pressed for ready cash. I was a little surprised soon after to learn that they had enlarged the credit to near ten thousand dollars, more or less. They wrote me to take notes and a mortgage, and to hold on to the notes awhile to fix amounts. I inferred the notes and mortgage were both to be held up for a time, and did so; Barret gave a second mortgage on part of the premises, which was first recorded, and then I was blamed some for not having recorded the other mortgage when first executed. My chief annoyance with the case now is that the parties at Columbus seem to think it is by my neglect that they do not get their money. There is an older mortgage on the real estate mortgaged, though not on the machinery. I got a decree of foreclosure in this present month; but I consented to delay advertising for sale till September, on a reasonable prospect that something will then be paid on a collateral Barret has put

in my hands. When we come to sell on the decree, what will we do about the older mortgage? Barret has offered one or two other good notes—that is, notes on good men—if we would take them, *pro tanto,* as payment, but I notified Mr. Ambos, and he declined. My impression is that the whole of the money cannot be got very soon, anyway, but that it all will be ultimately collected, and that it could be got faster by turning in every little parcel we can, than by trying to force it through by the law in a lump. There are no special personal relations between Barret and myself. We are personal friends in a general way—no business transactions between us—not akin, and opposed on politics.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Ill., July 28, 1859.

Hon. Samuel Galloway.

My dear Sir: Your very complimentary, not to say flattering, letter of the 23d inst. is received. Dr. Reynolds had induced me to expect you here; and I was disappointed not a little by your failure to come. And yet I fear you have formed an estimate of me which can scarcely be sustained on a personal acquaintance.

Two things done by the Ohio Republican convention—the repudiation of Judge Swan, and the "plank" for a repeal of the fugitive-slave law—I very much regretted. These two things are of a piece; and they are viewed by many good men, sincerely opposed to slavery, as a struggle against, and in disregard of, the Constitution itself. And it is the very thing that will greatly endanger our cause, if it be not kept out of our

national convention. There is another thing our friends are doing which gives me some uneasiness. It is their leaning toward "popular sovereignty." There are three substantial objections to this. First, no party can command respect which sustains this year what it opposed last. Secondly, Douglas (who is the most dangerous enemy of liberty, because the most insidious one) would have little support in the North, and by consequence, no capital to trade on in the South, if it were not for his friends thus magnifying him and his humbug. But lastly, and chiefly, Douglas's popular sovereignty, accepted by the public mind as a just principle, nationalizes slavery, and revives the African slave-trade inevitably. Taking slaves into new Territories, and buying slaves in Africa, are identical things, identical rights or identical wrongs, and the argument which establishes one will establish the other. Try a thousand years for a sound reason why Congress shall not hinder the people of Kansas from having slaves, and when you have found it, it will be an equally good one why Congress should not hinder the people of Georgia from importing slaves from Africa.

As to Governor Chase, I have a kind side for him. He was one of the few distinguished men of the nation who gave us, in Illinois, their sympathy last year. I never saw him, but suppose him to be able and right-minded; but still he may not be the most suitable as a candidate for the presidency.

I must say I do not think myself fit for the presidency. As you propose a correspondence with me, I shall look for your letters anxiously.

I have not met Dr. Reynolds since receiving

your letter; but when I shall, I will present your respects as requested.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Chicago, March 24, 1860.

Hon. Samuel Galloway.

My dear Sir: I am here attending a trial in court. Before leaving home I received your kind letter of the 15th. Of course I am gratified to know I have friends in Ohio who are disposed to give me the highest evidence of their friendship and confidence. Mr. Parrott, of the legislature, had written me to the same effect. If I have any chance, it consists mainly in the fact that the whole opposition would vote for me, if nominated. (I don't mean to include the pro-slavery opposition of the South, of course.) My name is new in the field, and I suppose I am not the first choice of a very great many. Our policy, then, is to give no offense to others—leave them in a mood to come to us if they shall be compelled to give up their first love. This, too, is dealing justly with all, and leaving us in a mood to support heartily whoever shall be nominated. I believe I have once before told you that I especially wish to do no ungenerous thing toward Governor Chase, because he gave us his sympathy in 1858 when scarcely any other distinguished man did. Whatever you may do for me, consistently with these suggestions, will be appreciated and gratefully remembered. Please write me again.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Especially Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, June 19, 1860.

My dear Sir: Your very kind letter of the 15th is received. Messrs. Follet, Foster & Co.'s *Life* of me is *not* by my authority; and I have scarcely been so much astounded by anything, as their public announcement that it is authorized by me. They have fallen into some strange misunderstanding. I certainly knew they contemplated publishing a biography, and I certainly did not object to their doing so, *upon their own responsibility*. I even took pains to facilitate them. But, at the same time, I made myself tiresome, if not hoarse, with repeating to Mr. Howard, their only agent seen by me, my protest that I *authorized nothing*—would be *responsible for nothing*. How they could so misunderstand me, passes comprehension. As a matter, *wholly my own*, I would authorize no biography, without *time* and *opportunity* to carefully examine and consider every word of it; and in this case, in the nature of things, I can have no such time and opportunity. But, in my present position, when, by the lessons of the past, and the united voice of all discreet friends, I can neither write nor speak a word for the public, how dare I to send forth, by my authority, a volume of hundreds of pages, for adversaries to make points upon without end?

Were I to do so, the Convention would have a right to re-assemble, and substitute another name for mine.

For these reasons, I would not look at the proof sheets. I am determined to maintain the position of truly saying that I never saw the

proof sheets, or any part of their work, before its publication.

Now, do not mistake me. I feel great kindness for Messrs. F. F. & Co.—do not think they have intentionally done wrong. There may be nothing wrong in their proposed book. I sincerely hope there will not. I barely suggest that you, or any of the friends there, on the party account, look it over, and exclude what you may think would embarrass the party, bearing in mind, at all times, that I *authorize nothing*—will be *responsible* for *nothing*.

Your friend as ever,

A. Lincoln.

GAMBLE, HAMILTON R.

War Department,
Washington, August 3, 1861.

His Excellency H. R. Gamble, Governor of Missouri, Jefferson City:

In reply to your message directed to the President, I am directed to say that if by proclamation you promise security to citizens in arms who voluntarily return to their allegiance and become peaceable and loyal, this government will cause the promise to be respected.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Simon Cameron,
Secretary of War.

On Nov. 6, 1861, President Lincoln approved of a proposition of Governor Gamble to raise State militia to coöperate with Federal troops to suppress the rebellion within the State, the expenses of the new force to be paid by the Federal government. The President, however, stipulates that, when the governor "commis-

sions a major-general of militia, it shall be the same person at the time in command of the United States Department of the West."

[See BATES, EDWARD, Nov. 29, 1862.]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 18, 1862.

Governor Gamble, Saint Louis, Mo.:

It is represented to me that the enrolled militia alone would now maintain law and order in all the counties of your State north of the Missouri River. If so all other forces there might be removed south of the river, or out of the State. Please post yourself and give me your opinion upon the subject.

A. Lincoln.

[See CURTIS, S. R., Dec. 19, 1862.]

War Department,
December 27, 1862.

His Excellency, Governor Gamble:

I do not wish to leave the country north of the Missouri to the care of the enrolled militia except upon the concurrent judgment of yourself and General Curtis. His I have not yet obtained. Confer with him, and I shall be glad to act when you and he agree.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 30, 1862.

His Excellency Governor Gamble.

My dear Sir: Inclosed is an order substantially, and I believe exactly, such as I directed to be made nearly a month ago. After a good deal of reflection, I concluded that it was better to make a rule for the practical matter in hand

(the removal of officers and acceptance of resignations) than to decide a general question—to wit: whether the forces are State troops—which, while it might embrace the practical question mentioned, might also be the nest in which forty other troublesome questions would be hatched. I would rather meet them as they come than before they come, trusting that some of them may not come at all.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[See CURTIS, S. R., Jan. 5, 1863.]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, July 23, 1863.

His Excellency Governor Gamble.

Sir: My private secretary has just brought me a letter, saying it is a very "cross" one from you, about mine to General Schofield, recently published in the "Democrat." As I am trying to preserve my own temper by avoiding irritants so far as practicable, I decline to read the cross letter. I think fit to say, however, that when I wrote the letter to General Schofield, I was totally unconscious of any malice or disrespect toward you, or of using any expression which should offend you if seen by you. I have not seen the document in the "Democrat," and therefore cannot say whether it is a correct copy.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., October 19, 1863.

His Excellency Hamilton R. Gamble, Governor of Missouri:

Yours of the 1st instant was duly received;

and I have delayed so long to answer it because of other pressing duties; because it did not appear to me that the domestic violence you apprehend was very imminent; and because, if it were so imminent, my direction to General Schofield embraces very nearly the extent of my power to repress it. Being instructed to repress all violence, of course he will, so far as in his power, repress any which may be offered to the State government. At the beginning of our present troubles, the regularly installed State officers of Missouri, taking sides with the rebellion, were forced to give way to the provisional State government, at the head of which you stand, and which was placed in authority, as I understood, by the unanimous action and acquiescence of the Union people of the State. I have seen no occasion to make a distinction against the provisional government because of its not having been chosen and inaugurated in the usual way. Nor have I seen any cause to suspect it of unfaithfulness to the Union. So far as I have yet considered, I am as ready, on a proper case made, to give the State the constitutional protection against invasion and domestic violence, under the provisional government, as I would be if it were under a government installed in the ordinary manner. I have not thought of making a distinction.

In your proclamation of the 12th instant you state the proposition substantially, that no objection can be made to any change in the State government which the people may desire to make so far as the end can be effected by means conforming to the constitution and laws through the expression of the popular will, but that such

change should not be effected by violence. I concur in this, and I may add that it makes precisely the distinction I wish to keep in view. In the absence of such violence, or imminent danger thereof, it is not proper for the national executive to interfere, and I am unwilling by any formal action to show an appearance of belief that there is such imminent danger before I really believe there is. I might thereby to some extent bear false witness. You tell me "a party has sprung up in Missouri which openly and loudly proclaims the purpose to overturn the provisional government by violence." Does the party so proclaim, or is it only that some members of the party so proclaim? If I mistake not, the party alluded to recently held a State convention and adopted resolutions. Did they therein declare violence against the provisional State government? No party can be justly held responsible for what individual members of it may say or do. Nothing in this letter is written with reference to any State which may have maintained within it no State government professedly loyal to the United States.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

GARDNER, PROF.

Springfield, Ill., September 28, 1860.

Dear Sir: Some specimens of your soap have been used at our house and Mrs. L. declares it is a superior article. She at the same time protests that I have never given sufficient attention to the "soap question" to be a competent judge.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

GARFIELD, JAMES A.

[See CHASE, SALMON P., May 13, 1863.]

GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD.

Washington, January 24, 1865.

My dear Mr. Garrison: I have your kind letter of the 21st of January, and can only beg that you will pardon the seeming neglect occasioned by my constant engagements. When I received the spirited and admirable painting, "Waiting for the Hour," I directed my secretary not to acknowledge its arrival at once, preferring to make my personal acknowledgments of the thoughtful kindness of the donors; and waiting for some leisure hour, I have committed the discourtesy of not replying at all. I hope you will believe that my thanks, though late, are most cordial, and request that you will convey them to those associated with you in this flattering and generous gift.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

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